ESSAYS ON ISLÁM.

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THE MYSTICS OF ISLÁM.

I.

THE religious Orders of Islám are not organized with the same regularity, nor are they under a discipline so strict, as the monastic Orders of Christianity have been; but they surpass them in number and in influence. They are all based on the same general ideas, though each has its own mysteries, and its special and peculiar methods for arriving at the ecstatic state. The basis of all is Ṣúfiism.

Writers with mystical tendencies appeared in the first century after the Hijra. Among the earliest mystics were Rabi'a, a woman who lived in Palestine and was buried in Jerusalem, and Abú Háshim, who died 150 A.H., soon after which a monastery was erected at Ramla in Palestine. Rabi'a taught the excellence of divine love, but did not enter into all the subtleties of later Ṣúfi teaching. The real founder of Ṣúfiism is said to have been Abú Said bin Abú'l Khair, who lived at the end of the second century A.H. His disciples wore a woollen garment, and from the word ṣúf, which means wool, they obtained the name of Ṣúfis. The phrase, labasa-ṣ-ṣúfa[1] —he donned wool—is used of a person who enters upon a monastic or contemplative life. In the next century two branches were founded, one under Bustáni, who died 261 A.H., and one under Junaid, who died 297 A.H. The

[1] لَبَسَ ٱلسُّوفَ

similarity of the views propounded by the Ṣúfis to those of the Neo-Platonic philosophy proved attractive to the Shí'ahs, amongst whom there was a strong Gnostic element: so Ṣúfiism made great progress in Persia, which to this day is its home.

It was a reaction from the burden of a dry monotheism, of a rigid law and a stiffened ritual. The orthodoxy of the Faithful did not meet the needs of the more imaginative minds of some of the Eastern races, and Ṣúfiism, supplying this want, found a home amongst them. Again, the great political movements and the tribal factions in the early history of Islám gathered round divergent religious dogmas, a fact plainly seen in the very distinct theology of the Shí'ahs, the followers and the partisans of the Khalif 'Ali. Ṣúfiism lent itself readily to the cause of the 'Aliyites, to whom the notion of the infusion of divine attributes into 'Ali and into the Imáms, his successors, was a most welcome idea. The allegorical explanation of religious duties and principles, ceremonial and moral, sometimes went so far as to substitute for these duties absolute devotion to the Imám, and to the sacred cause of the Shí'ahs. This was carried to its greatest extent under the mad Khalif Ḥákim and in the sect of the Ismá'ilians, the Báṭinis, and others. The preachers of this new doctrine travelled far and wide and mixed with men of all sorts and conditions. In this way ideas gleaned from Zoroastrians, Hindus, and Gnostics may have entered into Ṣúfiism and largely affected it. The third century found the Zindíq and the Mutazala controversies at their height. It was an earnest attempt to bring reason to bear on religious matters and resulted in a system of scholasticism. But from all this the Persian mind revolted. Reason and logic were no substitute for revelling in the sense of the beautiful, or for meditating on the love of God and the union of the soul with the divine.

The hard and fast system of Islám, with its clear-cut dogmas and its idea of finality in doctrine and law, would seem the most unlikely place in which to find a system such as Ṣúfiism; but the Qurán and the Traditions contain its germs. "At one time they represent Alláh as having created the world once for all and as now removed to His seat in the 'arsh, or highest heaven, having

left His creatures to work out their own salvation or condemnation by their own free will, according to the lights given them by the prophets; at another time they represent Him as the 'Subtile Being', immanent and ever working in His creatures, the sum of all existence, the fulness of life, whereby all things move and exist, the omnipresent, not only predestinating, but originating all actions, dwelling in and communing with each individual soul."[1] The Ṣúfis gathered up ideas like these and taught that this closer communion with God, this looking behind the veil, this cultivation of the 'inner eye',[2] would enable them to see and understand much which was hidden from those who held that there was no real existence except that which was plain and evident to reason and sight.

The Arabian philosophers made known to their readers the Neo-Platonic philosophy, and the Ṣúfis adapted Qurânic terms to the new ideas they thus gained. "The world of phenomena and man, everything else in fact but Alláh, they identified with Not-being, absolute nonentity, which like a mirror reflects Being, and by thus borrowing particles of Being, rises to the rank of Contingent Being, a kind of Being which partakes both of existence and non-existence. This Not-being is a sort of Manichæan Ahriman, which solves all practical difficulties attaching to their speculative system. According to their theory the Infinite includes all Being, evil as well as good; but as this is not consistent with the goodness of the Alláh of the Qurán, evil is said to proceed from Not-being."[3]

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[1] Introduction to Whinfield's *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, p. viii.

[2] دل یافت دیدهٔ که مقیم هوای تُست The heart hath gotten an eye, always desiring Thee.—*Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi.*

[3] Introduction to *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, p. vii. Some of the early Christian Mystics held that "Evil has no substance." "There is nothing," says Gregory of Nyssa, "which falls outside of the Divine Nature, except moral evil alone. And this, we may say paradoxically, has its being in not-being. For the genesis of moral evil is simply the privation of being. That which, properly speaking, exists, is the nature of the good." *Christian Mysticism*, by W. R. Inge, p. 25. So also in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, we read "Being is purely good in whatever it be; if it contains evil it proceeds from other."—وجود آنجا که باشد محض خیرست اگر شرّی ست دروی آن ز غیرست line 178.

As in man there is some spark of real Being, he would seem to be above all law, but this difficulty is got over by saying that he is now in the state of Contingent Being and so needs the discipline and restriction of law. The natural outcome, however, of all this was, in some cases, a spirit of indifference to the leading principles of Islám, which when not openly attacked were indirectly assailed, for all revelations were believed to be but rays of one eternal light. This was also often accompanied by a low moral life. Still, the great majority of Ṣúfis, those who had not attained to the higher grades of the mystic life, were attached to religion, though with a devout ritual practice they united their allegorical notions. They thus adapted to their own peculiar views the Quránic teaching of the creation of man, his fall, and banishment from Paradise. In their opinion the union of the soul and the body and their exile to this lower world were the necessary consequences of an eternal decree, the reason of which was known only to God. According to the Ṣúfis, souls existed before bodies, in which they are now imprisoned and in which condition, being separated from the joy they had in a pre-existent state, they look forward to the death of the body for their full manifestation, and the full fruition of all their aspirations. The Ṣúfis are fertile in reasons for eluding the authority of the text of the Qurán, as regards the resurrection of the body, a dogma which conflicts with their view of the return of the soul to God. When a Ṣúfi says that God and he are one, he does not mean that the divine enters into the human by a kind of infusion (ḥalúl),[1] nor does he say that two substances combine to make one (itiḥád), but that God and the soul are one in the sense that all that exists is God and nothing exists apart from Him.

> "'I', 'We', 'Thou', 'He' are all one thing,
> For in Unity is no duality."[2]

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[1] حلول و اتحاد اینجا محالست *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, line. 454.

[2] من و ما و تو و او است یك چیز * كه در وحدت نباشد هیچ تمئیز

Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 449.

They argue that if it was lawful for the burning bush to call itself God in the presence of Moses,[1] so man may surely do the same.

> "Come into the valley of peace, for at once
> The bush will say to thee, 'Verily I am God.'
> The saying 'I am God' was lawful for the bush,
> Why should it be unlawful for a good man to say so."[2]

The reason given for the creation of the world is that God desired to manifest the mode of His existence in Himself, in accordance with the Tradition. "I was a hidden treasure and I desired to be known, so I created the creation in order that I might be known."[3] This self-existence He manifests by the mode of His existence outside of Himself, just as the image of the sun is seen in water. Thus in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* we read:—

> "Not-being is the mirror of absolute Being,
> The shining of the Truth is reflected in it."
> "Not-being is the mirror, the world the reflection, and man
> Is as the eye reflected of the hidden person."[4]

So long as this phenomenal illusive existence remains, absolute Being is hid and the answer to "Show me" is, "Thou shalt not see."[5] Thus this Not-being is the evidence of Being.[6] God sees in Himself Being and Not-being; in the universe he sees Himself reflected as in a mirror. The Not-being is the mirror which reflects

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[1] "And when he came to it (the bush), he was called to, 'O Moses! Verily I am thy Lord; therefore put off thy shoes, for thou art in the holy place of Jowa.'"—(Súra xx. 11, 12.)

[2] در آ در وادیٔ ایمن که ناگاه * درختی گویدت انّی انا اللّه
روا باشد انا اللّه از درختی * چرا نبود روا از نیك بختی

[3] كُنْتُ كَنْزاً مَخفِياً فَأَحبَبْتُ أَنْ أُعرَفَ فَخَلَقْتُ ٱلْخَلْقَ لِكَيْ أُعرَفَ

[4] عدم آئینه هستی هست مطلق * کز و پیدا ست عکس تابشِ حق
عدم آئینه عالم عکس و انسان * چو چشم عکس در وی شخص پنهان
Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 134, 140.

[5] Súra vii. 139.

[6] به بین آن نیستی کو عین هستیست — *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, line 273.

the Being.[1] This Not-being is, according to Tholuck, not matter clothed in form, nor matter unformed and inert, nor the place where matter came into existence, the *πλήρωμα* of the Gnostics, but is pure and simple negation of Being. God alone is all, outside of Him is non-existence, an illusion, just as one seems to see a circle when a light is twirled round.

> "The whole world is an imaginary thing,[2]
> Like a point whirled round in a circle."

The influence of the divine upon the human, which brings about union, is called faiẓ, or an emanation, an overflowing. This is caused either by nidá, or calling; by jaẕb, or attraction[3]. These emanations flow down from God each moment, calling the soul and attracting it to Himself.[4] Union, then, means the receiving these emanations into oneself, the being drawn more and more by the ardour of the desire for them, by abandoning all else, and by giving up existence even in the transport of joy which results. The idea of jaẕb, or attraction, is given by Shams-i-Tabrizi in this verse.

> "The motion of every atom is towards its origin,
> A man comes to be the thing on which he is bent,
> The soul and the heart by the attraction of wish and desire
> Assume the qualities of the Beloved."[5]

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[1] عدم چون گشت هستی را مقابل * در و عکس شد اندر حال حامل
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 135.

[2] جهان خود جمله امر اعتباریست * چو آن یك نقطه کاندر دور ساریست
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 709.

[3] فیض ندا جذب

[4] It is by this constant efflux of being that all things consist; the robe of Being is cast over the nakedness of Not-being and thus "every moment a new heaven and a new earth are produced" (*Gulshan-i-Ráz*). Ṣúfis base this idea on the verse "We breathed in him of Our spirit"—و نَفَخْتُ فِيْهِ مِن رُّوحِى Súra xv. 29.

[5] جنبشِ هر ذرّه باصل خودت است * هرچه بُود مَیل کسی آن شَود
جان و دل از جذبهٔ میل و هوش * همصفت دلبر و جانان شَوَد
Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi.

We have seen that the words, "I am a hidden treasure and would fain be known," lie at the basis of the Ṣúfi system, and that in creation God came forth from internal to external manifestation. It thus becomes a manifestation of Him produced by intelligence, which again is the only means by which man can reach his true ideal and final aim, the perfect knowledge of God. But man sprang from that intelligence which originated the universe and so to it he must return. This is the 'nazúl', or descent and the 'urúj, or the ascent which embrace the whole of the life of a Ṣúfi. The truly spiritual man seeks by entering into some religious Order and by placing himself under a Pír,[1] or spiritual director, to travel on this upward road and at last attain to union with the divine. But before we describe the Ṭariqat, or spiritual path, there are a few other points to be noticed, as forming essential parts of Ṣúfi theories. All phenominal illusions must be laid aside before there can be any hope of realizing the Absolute Being. The whole world must be looked upon as Not-being.

"Shed tears and like a lover lay the dust,
So long as we are in the dust, we see not the face of the Beloved."[2]

One day, when expounding his views, Jelálu'd-dín said, "Thou seest nought, save that thou seest God therein." A darwish came forward and said that the use of the term "therein" indicated a

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[1] Ṣúfis attach great importance to this office: Jelálu'd-dín Rúmi says:

"Come under the shadow of the man of reason (pír).
Thou canst not find it in the road of the traditionists.
That man enjoys close proximity to Alláh,
Turn not away from obedience to him in any wise."

"Having chosen this Director be submissive to him.
His hand is none other than the grasp of Alláh."

اندر آ در سایهٔ آن عاقلی * کش نتاند برد از راه ناقلی
بس تقرب جوید و سوی اله * سر مپیچ از طاعتِ او هیچگاه
چون گرفتی پیرهن تسلیم شو * دستِ او جز قبضهٔ الله نیست

Maṣnawi, Book i. Tale x.

[2] ببار اشك و چو مشتاق گرد را بنشان * که روی ماه نه بینیم تا درین گردیم

Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode xliv.

receptacle, and that it might be argued that God would thus be comprehended, whereas He is incomprehensible. To this objection Jelálu'd-dín replied thus: "The universe of God's qualities is the receptacle of the universe of God's essence; but these two universes are really one. The first of them is not He, the second of them is not other than He. These, apparently two things, are in fact one and the same. How, then, is a contradiction in terms implied? God comprises the exterior and the interior. If we cannot say, He is the interior, He will not include the interior; but He comprises all and in Him all things have their being. He is then the receptacle also, and comprises all existences, as the Qurán says, 'He comprises all things.'" It is stated that the darwish was silenced and became an obedient disciple. This is one of many such discussions, and according to Ṣúfi authorities all gainsayers were convinced by such obscure and almost unintelligible language.

All created beings, then, being included in the category of Not-being, the perfect man strives to rise to the state of Contingent Being, where for a time laws and creeds are needed for his guidance; but he does not remain there. He seeks to ascend to real Being and so to be free from all outward restraints, to be in no relation at all to right and wrong.

> "To the man of God right and wrong are alike,
> The man of God has ridden away from Not-being." [1]
>
> "I will be a lover of Not-being, not of existence,
> For the beloved of Not-being is more blessed." [2]

Sense and reason cannot transcend phenomena, so they must be ignored in favour of the 'inner light.' This faculty is called "ṭaur." "In addition to reason man has a certain faculty by which he can understand hidden mysteries.[3] It is called by Shams-i-

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[1] مرد خدا را چه خطا و صواب * مرد خدا گشت سوار از عدم
Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode viii.

[2] بر عدم باشم نه بر موجود مست * زآنکه معشوق عدم وافی ترست
Maṣnawi, Book V. Tale ii.

[3] ورای عقل طوری دارد انسان * که بشناسد بدان اسرا پنهان
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 431,

Tabrizi the "eye of the heart," which is constant in its desire for God and by Jelálu'd-din the "inward sense.[1] This idea is not peculiar to Ṣúfis. It was held by other mystics. It is what Hugo of St. Victor calls 'the eye of the soul' a separate faculty by means of which there is immediate intuition of deity. He says: "This eye beholds what the eye of sense and the eye of reason cannot see, what is both within us and above us—God. Thus do the pure in heart see God. In such moments the soul is transported beyond sense and reason, to a state similar to that enjoyed by angelic natures."[2] He further describes it as "an eye that beholds at once the past, the present, and the future, which penetrates what is hidden, investigates what is impalpable, which needs no foreign light wherewith to see, but gazes by a light of its own, peculiar to itself."[3]

This faculty of ṭaur is to be used to gain the knowledge of God, apart from whom there is no real existence. Before explaining further the use of this faculty, it is, however, necessary for us to give some idea of the Ṣúfi cosmogony.

Ṣúfis divide the works of God into two kinds—the perceived world and the conceived world. The former is the material visible world, familiar to us all; the latter is the invisible, spiritual world, and also the world of command, so called from the words of the Qurán used in creation, كن فكان *Kun fa kán*—"Be, and it was."

The first thing which issued forth was the Primal Element, called by some the primary intellect. Thus in the Akhláq-i-Jaláli we read that "the first principle which at the mandate, 'Be and it was', issued by divine power from the chaotic ocean of inexistence was a simple and luminous essence, termed the Primary Intellect, and also by the great teachers of mysticism and investigation, the Muḥammadan Spirit." It is said that the verse, "and it was not the business of an hour, but even as the twinkling

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[1] For what is inspiration (وحی) but the speaking of the inward sense وحی چه بود گفتن از حس نهان *Masnawi*, Book I, Story vi.

[2] Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*, Vol. I, p. 158.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 170.

of an eye, or quicker still" (Súra xvi. 79), refers to this creation of the Primal Element—the Jauhar-i-awwál. It has many other names, such as the Pen, the Spirit of Muḥammad, the Constructive Spirit, the Universal Reason ('aql-i-kull). It is the perfection of wisdom, is ever near to God, and is ever seeking Him. There is nothing except the Primal Element which can directly approach Him, or receive bounty direct from Him. It is through the Primal Element that God's commands issue forth. Thus, as the Pen, it writes the commands of God. "When the Qáf of His power breathed on the Pen, it cast thousands of pictures on the page of Not-being."[1]

In this way also intelligences, souls, elements, the heavens, and the stars came forth. Then from these simple natures started forth the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. In proof of this Ṣúfis refer to the verse, "N, by the Pen and what they write."[2] They say that 'N' represents the world of power, the 'Pen' the Primal Element, and that "what they write" refers to the simple natures. They write on for ever, for "were the sea ink, it would not suffice for the words of my Lord."[3] Thus the universe is ever ebbing, sustained every moment by, as it were, pulsations of the pervading spirit, so that it is described as being every moment annihilated and fresh-created.[4]

The final end and aim of all is man, who by a process of evolution is at last arrived at.

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1 چو قاف قدرتش دم بر قلم زد * هزاران نقش بر لوح عدم زد

Gulshan-i-Ráz.

2 Súra lxviii. 1.

3 Súra xviii. 109.

4 These various powers seem to have something in common with the Æons of the Gnostics. The idea was that in the primal source of all existence, the fulness of life is still undeveloped and that this development took place by means of the Æons, masculine and feminine, by whose reciprocal action the chain of vital development is carried on. The *hidden* essence of God no being can comprehend; it is the absolute ʼαγνωστον; it can only be known so far as He has revealed Himself in the development of His powers (δυνάμεις) or Æons. These Æons are so many forms of manifestation, phases, names of Him who in His hidden being is incomprehensible, ineffable and who transcends all conceptions. See Neander's *Church History*, Vol. II, pp. 48, 73.

"I died as inanimate matter and arose a plant.
I died as a plant and rose again as an animal.
I died as an animal and arose a man,
Why then should I fear to become less by dying?
I shall die once again as a man
To rise an angel perfect from head to foot.
Again when I suffer dissolution as an angel,
I shall become what passes the conception of man!
Let me, then, become non-existent, for non-existence
Sings to me in loudest tones: 'To Him we shall return.'"[1]

Thus the final end of all creation was man.

"There is no other final cause beyond man,[2]
It is disclosed in man's own self."
"That which was made last, consider to be first,
The last which was made was the soul of Adam."

So also Browning, who says:

"Thus He dwells in all,
From life's minute beginnings, up at last
To man—the consummation of this scheme
Of being, the completion of this sphere of life."

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[1] از جمادی مُردم و نامی شدم * و زنما مردم بحیوان سر زدم
مُردم از حیوانی و آدم شدم * پس چه ترسم کی زمُردن کم شدم
حملهٔ دیگر بمیرم از بشر * تا بر آرم از ملائك بال و پر
بار دیگر از مَلَك قُربان شوم * آنچه اندر وهم نآید آن شوم
پس عدم گردم عدم چون ارغنون * گویدم کاِنّا اِلَیهِ راجعون

Maṣnawi, Book III, Tale xvii. The English version is from Whinfield's *Maṣnawi*, p. 159. See also a similar passage in Book IV, Tale ix. and in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, lines 317-339. In the latter passage man's journey is described from the lowest point, through the vegetive, animal and human grades, up to the highest point of obliteration of all consciousness and perception of the external phenomenal world and immersion in the sea of divine glory.

[2] نه آخر علّت غائی در آخر * همی گردد بذات خویش ظاهر
هر آنچه آید بآخر پیش می بین * در آخر گشت پیدا نفسِ آدم

Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 263, 261.

Man is complete when he has gained intelligence, but intelligence was the Primal Element; so it is the beginning and the end, the first and the last, and thus the mystic circle is complete. If man would be perfect he must rise up to the Primal Element and fulfil the words: "From Him was the origin and to Him is the return." It is this which is the aim and object of the traveller's journey. Thus Jelálu'd-dín says:

> "From realms of formlessness, existence doth take form,
> And fades again therein. 'To Him we must return.'"[1]

This is called by a great philosopher, the author of the Akhláq-i-Jaláli,[2] the "procession of essence unto essence."

Ṣúfis claim for man the privilege of displaying the divine attributes. This is a sacred deposit committed to him. "Verily we proposed a deposit to the heavens and to the earth and to the mountains between them, but they refused the burden and we entrusted it to man."[3] Evil men as well as good men perform this function. The evil-hearted and the fools are the opposite of light, yet they are the place of true manifestation.[4]

Just as the universe is the mirror of God, so the heart of man is the mirror of the universe. The Ṣúfi who would know God or know the truth must look into his own heart. In order to avoid sin and error and to gain holiness and wisdom, he must turn his eye inward, for

> "All the earth I wandered over, seeking still the beacon bright,
> Never tarried in the day time, never sought repose at night,
> Till I heard a reverend preacher all the mystery declare,
> Then I looked within my own bosom, and 'twas shining brightly there."

We have already stated that the function of the Primal Element was to receive from God and to convey what was so received to

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[1] صورت از بی صورتی آمد برون * باز شد کانا الیه راجعون
Maṣnawi, Book I, Tale v.

[2] p. 364.

[3] Súra xxxiii. 72.

[4] ظلومی و جهولی ضدِّ نور ند * و لیك مظهر عین ظهور ند *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, line 264.

the world. Thus it includes both the saintly and the prophetic offices.

Some hold that each of these functions of the Primal Element needs an exponent, that Muḥammad is the prophetic exponent and that Al Mahdi, the last of the Imáms, will be the saintly one. Others say that the Primal Element and Muḥammad are identical,[1] and that, therefore, both offices are vested in him. This idea throws light on expressions which seem to consider prophets and Imáms as almost divine. A disciple of the great mystic leader Bayezid was once asked whether God or his Master was the greater. He replied: "I only know my teacher, I know no other than him, and he is greater than all beside." To a similar question another disciple replied: "There is no difference between the two. As God does not walk in this world of sensible objects, the prophets are the substitutes of God. If thou supposest that these substitutes and their principal are two different things, thou art wrong."

According to the Traditions, "I was a prophet while Adam was yet between earth and clay," and "There is no prophet after me," Ṣúfis hold that Muḥammad was a prophet even before the creation and that he still holds office. This identification of Muḥammad with the Primal Element explains the names sometimes given to him, such as Universal Reason, the Great Spirit, the Truth of Humanity, the Possessor of the Ray of Light—the Núr-i-Muḥammadi—from God's own splendour.

As man, then, sprang originally from the Primal Element, the Ṣúfi seeks to return to it. On the one side of the circle is nazúl or descent, which "includes the whole process of development until man becomes possessed of reasonable powers"; on the other side is 'urúj or ascent, which includes each stage from the first dawn of the reasoning powers of man until he is finally absorbed in the Primal Element. This is the Origin and the Return of man. The ascent is called the Ṭaríqat, or road, in passing from stage to stage

[1] This is to explain the Tradition, "He who has seen me has seen God," which means that Muḥammad is the Primal Element, *viz.:* that which receives from God and then interprets Him to man.

of which the traveller gains an increasing knowledge of the mystical dogmas of Ṣúfiism. Before setting out upon the journey he must be possessed of the spirit of humanity and acquire capacity. These are referred to, according to Ṣúfis, in the verse, "and when I had fashioned him and breathed my spirit into him."[1]

The words, "when I had fashioned him," refer to the capacity bestowed for purifying one's self from all qualities and dispositions. The words, "breathed my spirit into him," refer to the gift of the spirit of humanity. These gifts may be given in middle or in old age. If the man who desires to gain truth is in real earnest and striving to control his desires, he is called a Ṭálib, a seeker. He seeks to rise from the germ which contains the Primal Element, a lowly position, to the divine light, a high and lofty one. This is said to be referred to in the verse: "We have created man in the fairest of proportions and then have brought him back to be the lowest of the low, save only such as believe, and do the things that are right and verily they shall have their reward."[2] If the Ṭálib feels drawn onward he is majẕúb, or attracted and becomes a Muríd, or disciple, and attaches himself to some Pîr, or spiritual director. He must now submit without a murmur to all that may await him and yield implicit obedience.[3] In the words of Ḥáfiẓ he must be absolutely submissive.

> "His hand I stay not, though his falchion slay me."

So, too, Madame Guyon,

> "Be not angry, I resign
> Henceforth, all my will to Thine,

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[1] فَاِذَا سَوَّيْتُهُ وَ نَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِنْ رُوحِى Súra xv. 29.

[2] لَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا الْاِنْسَانَ فِى اَحْسَنِ تَقْوِيمٍ ثُمَّ رَدَدْنَاهُ اَسْفَلَ سَافِلِينَ اِلَّا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ فَلَهُمْ اَجْرٌ Súra xcv. 4—6.

[3] This is why he is called in the *Maṣnawi* (Book I, Story i.) "the son of the time present" ابن الوقت—because he regards neither the days past nor the days to come, but is a passive instrument moved by the divine impulse of the moment.

I consent that thou depart,
Tho' thine absence breaks my heart,
Go, then, and for ever too,
All is right that thou wilt do."

Then this absolute submission gains its reward, described thus:

"This was just what Love intended.
He was now no more offended.
Soon as I became a child,
Love returned to me and smiled.
Never strife shall more betide,
'Twixt the bridegroom and the Bride."

Fitzgerald in a free translation has caught the spirit of 'Umr Khayyám's verse which, under the metaphor of a chess board and chess men, makes submission not even an effort of the will, but looks on human beings as mere automatons, moved by fate and at last hurled into non-existence.

"'Tis all a chequer-board of nights and days
Where destiny with men for pieces plays;
Hither and thither moves and mates and slays,
And one by one back in the closet lays."[1]

The entire negation of self clears the way for the apprehension of the truth that there is no existence save that of God. Life and its pleasures veil the truth from the eye of man. These must be set aside before the vision of the One is seen. This is what is meant by passing from negation to affirmation, from ignorance to knowledge. The initial stage is now passed and the man now becomes a Sálik, or traveller, whose whole time and thought are given up to sulúk, or the prosecution of this mystical journey. This he must do until he completes the upward ascent of the circle and arrives at the perfect stage.

An important condition of entering on the journey is to think on the mercies of God and to ignore reason, which cannot discern

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[1] از روی حقیقی نه از روی مجاز * ما لعبتگانیم و فلك لعبت باز
بازیچه همی کنیم بر نطع وجود * رفتیم بصندوق عدم یك یك باز
Rubá'iyát.

the true light. It is only as man closes up all his intellectual apprehensions and ceases to strive to know, that he attains to the real knowledge of that which transcends the mind of man.

> "The light of reason applied to the very light of life
> Is as the eye of the head applied to the sun."[1]

The stages of the mystical journey are eight in number,[2]—service, love, abstraction, knowledge, ecstasy, the truth, union, extinction.[3] It is not easy to fix the words of Ṣúfi poets and to say to which stages they refer; but the ideas relating to all are there, though in no systematic order. Generally speaking, the second stage is the popular one with the poets, who delight in descriptions of God and man as the Beloved and the Lover. Persian poetry deals with a "mystical apprehension of the unity and divinity in all things which heightens the delight in natural and human beauty." The praises of women and of wine are sung by Niẓámi, Ḥáfiẓ, Sa'di, and other poets; but a mystical interpretation is placed on their rhapsodies.[4] The Ṣúfi seeks for a type of heavenly love and finds it in earthly love. Beauty "stands upon the threshold of the mystical world" and so earthly love, idealised in the frenzy of Majnún for Leila and the passion of Zulaikha

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[1] بود نورِ خرد در ذات انور * بسان چشمِ سر در چشمهٔ خور

[2] St. Augustine arranges the ascent of the soul in seven stages. The last, union, which he calls "the vision and contemplation of Truth" is not a step but the goal of the journey. Of the blessedness of this state he says:—

"I entered and beheld with the mysterious eye of my soul, the light that never changes, above the eye of my soul, above my intelligence. It was something altogether different from any earthly illumination."—*Christian Mysticism* by W. R. Inge, p. 131.

Tauler places the ascent in three stages. In the first we practise self-denial and must be under strict rule and discipline: the second is contemplation—"Wilt thou with St. John rest on the loving breast of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou must be transformed into His beauteous image by a constant earnest contemplation thereof." The third stage is subjugation of the will, a passive state of will and intellect. —*Ibid* p. 186-7.

[3] 'Abúdiyat, 'ishq, zuhd, ma'rifat, wajd or ḥál, ḥaqíqat, waṣl, faná.

[4] A good glossary of the technical and allegorical expressions in the writings of the Ṣúfi poets will be found in the Appendix to Palmer's *Oriental Mysticism*.

for Yúsúf, seems to him the nearest resemblance to the highest of all love, that of the soul for God. This is the key to ma'rifat, or spiritual knowledge and so the basis of the highest life. "The eye brings with it only what it longs to see," and the man is blind to the deep things of the mystic life until the inner eye is made intelligent by love.

Human love, then, symbolises the divine, the tavern is an oratory, intoxication the confusion caused by the sight of the Divine, the locks of the beloved are the visible attributes of God in nature[1], which like the curls on the face partly hide and partly reveal it. In the *Díwán-i-Ḥáfiẓ* we read,
"I said to him, 'Knowest thou what the chain of the curls of the Beloved means?' He said, 'Ḥáfiẓ makes a complaint of the long and dark night of separation'"[2] that is, these chains bind the soul not yet worthy of the full light. Shelley has the same idea in

> "Life of life! Thy lips enkindle
> With their love the breath between them;
> And thy smiles before they dwindle
> Make the cold air fire; then screen them
> In those locks, where whoso gazes
> Faints entangled in their mazes."

No doubt Ṣúfis often press the language of the poets too far, and show a faulty exegesis, for not all their poems are mystical. Whilst words bearing an allegorical signification were often used to veil what to the devout Muslim would otherwise have been heresy, they often express just the mind of a man of pleasure, fond of a Bohemian life. Anyhow, Ḥáfiẓ has not the credit of being a man of ascetic life. He delighted "to float luxuriously between heaven

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1 "The varied pictures I have drawn on space,
Behold what fair and goodly sights they seem!
One glimpse I gave them of my glorious face."
The last line is literally, 'I showed them a hair's point of my curl'—
سر موی از زلف خود نمودم

2 گفتمش سلسلهٔ زلف بتان دانی چیست * گفت حافظ گلهٔ از شب یلدا میکرد

and earth, and this world and the next, on the wings of a poetical expression, that might serve indifferently for either."[1]

The ordinary theologian cannot enter on the mystic path, for he is still in the bondage of dogmas and so wanders about in darkness.[2] He cannot grasp the full meaning of the Unity. When it is fully realized it leads the Ṣúfi to annihilate self in the absolute Truth, to become eternal in the Absolute, to be made one with the One and to abstain from evil, or, as Ḥáfiẓ says:—

> "Ḥáfiẓ, when preaching unity with unitarian pen,
> Blot out and cancel every page that tells of spirits and of men."

On the other hand, the ordinary theologian is in the bondage of taqlíd, that is, enslaved to dogmas and to creeds, believing blindly what has been believed by those who have preceded him. Now, the Ṣúfi gains his knowledge of divine things by direct intuition, and not through ordinary theological instruction, nor by scholastic methods which deal with the attributes of quantity, quality, and relation.[3] He purifies his soul from sensible forms and images, so that from all intellectual apprehensions and all operations of the mind he may

> "Dismiss cares and be clean of heart,
> Like the face of a mirror on which there is no reflection,
> When it becomes clear of images, all images are contained in it."[4]

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[1] Fitzgerald, quoted in Leaf's *Versions from Ḥáfiẓ*, p. 17, where the whole subject is discussed.

[2] کلامی کو ندارد ذوق توحید * بتاریکی درست از غیم تقلید

Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 108.

So also in the *Rubá'iyát* we read

> "Some look for truth in creeds and forms and rules;
> Some grope for doubt or dogmas in the schools;
> But from behind the veil a voice proclaims
> Your road lies neither here nor there, O fools."

[3] منزه ذاتش از چند و چه و چون * تعالی شانه عما یقولون

Gulshan-i-Ráz.

[4] اندیشها رها کن و دل ساده هو تمام * چون روی آینه که بنقش و نگار نیست
چون ساده هد از نقش همه نقشها درو ست

Dewán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode xiii.

Even contemplation of the external works of nature will not give the light. All the illusory phenomena which hide the truth must be cast aside.[1]

"Since His works are manifested from His essence,
His essence is not manifested from His works;
The light of His essence is not contained in phenomena,
For the glory of His Majesty is very great."[2]

Ṣúfis even go so far as to set aside any external religious revelation. Indeed, indifference to all forms of religion is a cardinal Ṣúfi dogma.[3]

Thus Shams-i-Tabrizi:—

"While my loved phantom dwells in the pagoda's bound,
'Twere mortal sin, should I the Ka'ba compass round,

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1 Juan d'Avila says: "Let us put a veil between ourselves and all created things." Juan d'Avila, with other Spanish mystics, was persecuted by the Inquisition and in 1559 one of his books was placed on the Index. Insistence on disinterested love and admonitions to close the eye of sense formed part of their teaching.—*Christian Mysticism* by C. R. Inge, p. 216.

The earlier Christian mystics, believing that God is "closer to us than breathing, and nearer than hands or feet" were impatient of any intermediaries. We need not search for His foot prints in nature, when we can behold His face in ourselves is their answer to St. Augustine's fine expression that all things bright and beautiful in the world are "footprints of the uncreated wisdom." Coleridge has expressed their feeling in his "Ode to Dejection."

"It were a vain endeavour,
Though I should gaze for ever
On that green light that lingers in the West.
I may not hope from outward forms to win
The passion and the life whose fountains are within."—*Ibid*, p. 27.

2 چو آیاتش روشن گشته از ذات * نگردد ذات او روشن از آیات
نگنجد نور ذات اندر مظاهر * که سبحات جلالش هست قاهر
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 115.

3 In the seventh tale of the second book of the *Maṣnawi* it is said that Moses heard a shepherd praying thus, "O God shew me where Thou art that I may become Thy servant, clean Thy shoes, dress Thy hair and fetch Thee milk." Moses rebuked the man for his foolish prayer. He was ashamed and ran away. God then rebuked Moses, saying, "To each race I have given different ways of praising me. It is not the words I care for, but the spirit in which they are said. Various are the ways of devotion but if genuine all are accepted."

The Ka'ba is but a church, if there His trace be lost;
The church my only Ka'ba, while He there is found."[1]

So 'Umr Khayyám:—

"In cell and cloister, monastery and synagogue, one lies
In dread of Hell, one dreams of Paradise.
But none that know the secrets of the Lord
Have sown their hearts with such like fantasies."[2]

So Jelálu'd-dín Rúmi:—

"Say not that all these creeds are false,
The false ones capture hearts by the scent of truth.
Say not they are all erroneous thoughts,
There is thought in the world void of reality.
He who says everything is true is a fool,
He who says all is false is a knave."[3]

So also Ḥáfiẓ:—

"Between the love of the cloister and that of the tavern there is no difference,
For wherever love is, there is the face of the Beloved.
Wherever the pious works of the Muslim hermitage display their beauty,
There are the bells of the Christian convent and the name of the cross."

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1 در بتكده تا خيال معشوقهٔ ما ست * رفتن بطواف كعبه از عين خطاست
گر كعبه از و بوى ندارد كُنش است * با بوى وصال او كُنش كعبهٔ ما ست

Dewán-Shams-i-Tabrizi, p. 238.

2 در صومعه و مدرسه و دير و كنشت * ترسنده ز دوزخند و جوياى بهشت
انكس كه ز اسرار خدا با خبر است * زين تخم در اندرون دل هيچ نكشت

Rubá'iyát.

3 پس نگو كاين جمله دينها باطلند * باطلان بر بوى حق دام دلند
پس مگو جمله خيالست و ضلال * بى حقيقت نيست در عالم خيال
آنكه گويد جمله حقست احمقيست * وآنكه گويد جمله باطل او شقيست

Maṣnawi, Book II, Tale xi.

Even idol worship is allowed in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* :

" Since all things are the manifestors of Being,
One amongst them must be an idol.
If the Musalmán but knew what is faith,
He would see that faith is idol worship.
If the polytheist only knew what an idol was,
How could he go astray in his religion ?"[1]

He sees in idols naught but the visible creature[2] and that is the reason that he is legally a heathen.

Jelálu'd-dín Rúmi says :—

" Cross and Christian, from end to end
I surveyed ; He was not on the cross.
I went to the idol temple, to the ancient pagoda,
No trace was visible there.
I bent the reins of search to the Ka'ba,
He was not in that resort of old and young,

But it was all of no avail, for the loved one came not into view, until he could say :—

I gazed into my own heart ;
There I saw him, He was nowhere else.
In the whirl of its transport my spirit was tossed,
Till each atom of separate being I lost."[3]

In thus setting aside all external revelations and in removing from the mind all impressions from outward phenomena, all names

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[1] چو اشیا هست هستی را مظاهر * از آن جمله یکی بُت باشد آخر
مسلمان گر بدانستی که بُت چیست * بدانستی که دین در بُت پرستیست
اگر مشرك زبُت آگاه گشتی * کجا در دینِ خود گمراه گشتی

Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 868, 872-3.

[2] That is, the phenomenal.

[3] چلیپا و نصرانیان سر بسر * بپیمودم اندر چلیپا نبود
به بُتخانه رفتم بدَیر کُهن * در و هیچ رنگی هُویدا نبود
بکعبه کشیدم عنان طلب * درآن مقصد پیر و برنا نبود
نگه کردم اندر دل خویشتن * درآن جاش دیدم دگر جا نبود
حقیقت چنان مست وحیران هدم * که از هستیم ذرّه پیدا نبود

and words are set aside, the heart reflects each new created form, and is illuminated with divine glory. This is set forth in a striking allegory by Jelálu'd-dín, the greatest of all the Ṣúfi poets. A Sultan held an audience of Chinese and of Greek painters, who both claimed superiority. The Sultan gave to the two parties houses on opposite sides of the street, in order that the skill of both might be seen at the same time. The Chinese painted their house with many colours and in a most gorgeous manner, while the Greeks used no paint but simply burnished and polished the house allotted to them. When all was ready the Sultan went to inspect the work and much admired the beauty of the house painted by the Chinese. He then turned to the house of the Greeks, and

"Just as the Greeks have put their curtain back,
Down glides a sunbeam through the rifted clouds,
And, lo, the colours of that rainbow house
Shine, all reflected on those glassy walls,
That face them, rivalling: the sun hath painted,
With lovelier blending, on that stony mirror
The colours spread by man so artfully.
Know, then, O friend! Such Greeks the Súfis are,
Owning nor book nor master, and on earth
Having one sole and simple task to make
Their hearts a stainless mirror for their God.
Is thy heart clear and argent as the Moon?
Then imaged there may rest, innumerous,
The forms and lines of heaven."[1]

The fact is that reason is considered helpless in such cases;[2] if

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[1] بعد از ان آمد بسوی رومیان * پرده را بالا کشیدند از میان
عکس آن تصویر و آن کردارها * زد، برین صافی شده دیوارها
هرچه آنجا بود اینجا بنمود * دیده را از دیده خانه میربود
رومیان آن صوفیا نند ای پسر * نی ز تکرار کتاب و نی هنر
لیك صیقل کرده اند آن سینها * پاك ز از و حرص و بخل و کینها
آن صفای آئینه وصف دلست * صورت بی منتها را قابل است

Maṣnáwi, Book I, Tale xiv.

[2] عقل انجا ساکت اید یا مضل * ز انکه دل با اوست یا خود او است دل

the heart is cleansed 'from the stain of being' it is right with God. All is then well and the inner light is seen, light and life are found, certainty takes the place of doubt and love for ever rules the man. Just as the motion of an atom is towards its origin, a man becomes the thing on which he is bent.[1] Under the direction of the Pír, the neophyte will be shown all this and be guided aright.

> "God's servant is His shadow here below on earth,
> To this world dead, but living in a second birth.
> To his skirts cling: from him the soul's nutrition see,
> That from calamity of the last age thou mayst be free." [2]

The traveller must know his origin, must purify himself from all notions of self, and then he will pass from stage to stage and his journey will be one long revelation, leading him on from the mazes of Contingent Being to the Necessary Being and away from all darkness and defect.[3] He sees not only himself, but all phenomena intoxicated with the wine of divine love, beginning with the heavens and the angels.

> "The heavens giddy with this wine, are reeling to and fro,
> Desiring in their hearts to smell its perfume;
> The angels, drinking it pure from pure vessels,
> Pour the dregs of their draught upon the world." [4]

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[1] جُنبش هر ذرّه باصلِ خود است * هرچه بود مَیل کسی آن شود

Dewán-Shams-i-Tabrizi, p. 254.

[2] سایه یزدان بود بنده خدا * مردهٔ این عالم و زنده خدا
دامن او گیر زو تر بیگمان * تا رهی از آفت آخر زمان

Maṣnawi, Book I, Tale iii.

[3] مسافر آن بود کو بگذرد زود * زخود صافی شود چون اتش از دود
بعکس سیر اول در منازل * رود تا گردد از انسان کامل
بدان اول که تا چون گشت موجود * که تا انسان کامل گشت مولود

Gulshan-i-Ráz.

[4] فلك سرگشته از وی در تگا پوی * هوا در دل بامید یکی بوی
ملائك خورده صاف از کوزهٔ پاك * جرعه ریخته دردی برین خاك

Gulshan-i-Ráz.

The heavens and the angels were created before man and were earlier emanations from the Primal Element. The effect of love at last reached man, but only those who have the spirit of humanity and the capacity realize its full effect. Some gain philosophic wisdom only; some become religious in the ordinary sense and follow the traditional systems; but some become intoxicated with divine love.[1] Such are the true travellers, and in them the effect increases, until they get freedom from all dogma and all ritual and even from existence itself. The desire of such an one so grows that it is said of him, "The ocean-hearted, mighty drinker, who at one draught drinks up existence and so obtains release from affirmations and negations and becomes free from all need of worship and ceremony, now seizes the skirt of the Ancient of the wine-house."[2]

The 'Ancient' is the Pír by whom the Muríd, or disciple, has been initiated, and under whose training he at length arrives at this exalted state.

But all that takes time and he must commence at the first stage, that of servitude. He becomes an 'Ábid, a servant. At this stage it is said that

> "The honour of man lies in being under compulsion,
> Not in this that he has a share in free will."[3]

For a time the law has control. Some restraint is needed till further developments take place.

> "The reason why He has imposed on you the law
> Is because He has given to you of His own essence;

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[1] یکی از یك حرامی گشته عاشق *Gulshan-i-Ráz.*

[2] زهی دریا دل رند سر افراز
در آشامیده هستی را بیك بار * فراغت یافته ز اقرار و انکار
شده فارغ ز نهد خشك و طامات * گرفته دامن پیر خرابات
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 836.

[3] کرامت آدمی را ز اغطراریست * نه آن کورا نصیبی اختیاریست
Gulshan-i-Ráz.

> As you are helpless under this burden of law,
> Abandon and forsake this self of yours." [1]

The next stage is that of love. Jelálu'd-dín Rúmi says:—

> "Love Him whom saints and prophets all have loved;
> Through whom alone we all have lived and moved." [2]

But to realize this love perfectly, all notions of time and space must be set aside.

> "Straightway lift yourself above time and space,
> Quit the world and be yourself a world to yourself." [3]

As this love deepens and pervades the soul, external things become of less and less moment. The outward forms of religion and custom no longer bind the traveller, for true obedience now lies in discarding them. Distinction between the creeds passes away. The authority of law is over the 'I', but

> "When 'I' and 'thou' remain not in the midst,
> What is mosque, what is synagogue, what is fire temple?" [4]

The idea of 'I' and 'we' is for this lower worldly state, where praise and prayer ascend to God; but the higher state is this:—

> "Immersed in the Beloved we shall be,
> When in one soul shall we be 'I' and 'thee'." [5]

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1 بشرعت زان سبب تکلیف کردند * که از ذات خودت تعریف کردند
چو از تکلیف حق عاجز شوی تو * بیکبار از میان بیرون روی تو
Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 558-9.

2 عشق آن بگزین که جمله انبیا * یافتند از عشق او کار و کیا
Maṣnawi, Book I, Tale i.

3 یکی راه بر تو از کون و مکان * جهان بگذار و خود درخود جهان شو
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 299.

4 همه حکم شریعت از منِ تست * که آن بر بستهٔ جان و تن تست
من و تو چون نماند درمیانه * چه مسجد چه کنشت چه دیر خانه
Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 504-5.

5 تامن و توها همه یك جان شوند * عاقبت مستغرق جانان شوند *Maṣnawi.*

Jámi in the poem called *Salámán and Absál* says :—

"Love is only
Perfect when itself transcends
Itself, and, one with that it loves,
In undivided Being blends."

So also Shamsu'd-dín Tabrizi

"Ye who in search of God, of God, pursue,
Ye need not search, for God is you, is you!
Why seek a something which was missing ne'er?
Save you none is, but you are where, O where."[1]

Having thus learnt to throw off forms and look forwards to the true union, the traveller can advance one stage more. He becomes a Záhid, or abstracted. Contemplation and silence[2] are now his duty. He must not respond to any earthly love, for the "lover of God must be silent."[3] And if nothing personal must disturb the attraction, the drawing, of the soul upward to God, so neither must any mundane affairs affect it. The man must be perfectly oblivious to all that goes on in the world.[4]

"Why should I sorrow, though desolation abound,
In such desolation we royal treasures find all.
He who is drowned in God, in Him surely is found,
Like a wave of the sea, the soul will rise calmly and fall."[5]

This entire abstraction is called tajríd, literally a stripping off, and, in Ṣúfi language, a turning away from self and all else, the

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1 آنانکه طلبگار خدائید خدائید * حاجت بطلب نیست شمائید شمائید
چیزی که نگردید گُم از بهرچه جوئید * کس غیر شمانیست کُجائید کُجائید

2 چو تو نگوئی گفت تو گفت او باشد *Dewán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi.*

3 چونکه عاشق اوست خاموش باش

4 So the Arabic proverb إِنَّ السَّلَامَةَ مِنها (اَلدُّنْيَا) تَرْكُ مافِيها—"Salvation from the world is to renounce the things of the world."

5 من چه غم دارم که ویرانی بود * زیر ویران گنج سلطانی بود
غرق حق خواهد که باشد غرق تر * همچو موجِ بحرجان زیر و زبر
Maṣnawi, Book I.

mortification of all desires, sensual and intellectual. Should this cause sorrow and poverty of mind, then in God is true rest found.

> "O thou who art my soul's comfort in the season of sorrow,
> O thou who art my spirit's treasure in the bitterness of dearth." [1]

It is only as this abstraction is persevered in and made perfect that the light of divine guidance shines upon the path.[2]

The light then comes and the next stage, that of Ma'rifat, or knowledge, is entered upon. It is by the light of the truth that truth is known. The traveller has no real existence of his own, it is only by the communicated knowledge of the existence of God that he can know Him. "Beside Him is no knower or known."

We have already seen[3] that God created the worlds in order to manifest forth His glory. "The first thing created was 'Aql, or Reason, Logos, the unspoken Thought, then the spoken Word. From this 'Aql, or Logos, emanated the 'aql-i-kull, or Universal Soul, the sum of all the divine attributes, called the 'ayán-i-ṣábita. The light of these divine ideas then shone upon the darkness of Not-being and each atom of Not-being reflected one of them.[4] Heaven and the Angels, for instance, reflected the attributes of mercy and hell, and the devils the attributes of terror. At last the soul of man, which reflects all the attributes, merciful and terrible, was created. "Man is thus a Microcosm, or recapitulation of the whole universe. On the one side he is luminous with the light of the merciful attributes, but on the other he is black with the darkness of the terrible ones, reflected in his essential Not-being. He is thus created 'half to rise and half to fall'

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[1] ای که بهنگامِ درد راحتِ جانی مرا * ای که بتلخیٔ فقر گنجِ روانی مرا

Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode vi.

[2] *Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi.* So also Master Eckhart. "I tell you, by the eternal truth, that ye are not rightly poor when ye have a will to perform the will of God, or any desire of God; for the poor man is he who wills, knows, and desires nothing."

[3] Ante p. 5.

[4] The sum of the reflected rays is the perfect image of God:—

عشقت کمال نقشِ عالم است آینه چون *Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi*, Ode xl.

and has power to refuse the evil and choose the good. But all the phenomena of the universe, man included, have no real existence of their own; but are renewed every moment by the constant outpouring, through the Logos, of reflections from the one Noumenon and, when the divine purposes are accomplished, the whole phantasmagoria of phenomenal existence will vanish and 'God will be heir of all'".[1] It is the object of the 'Arif, or Gnostic' to penetrate into this divine scheme and to understand how divine power can be exercised without impugning divine goodness. The difficulty of the existence of evil, and the apparent contradiction of absolute sovereignty and free will face him, as it does all men, but through ma'rifat, or gnosis, he learns to understand it all and to reconcile the apparently irreconcilable.

This high knowledge leads on to Ḥál, or wajd, which is a state of ecstasy. The ecstatic conditions are the result of divine knowledge. Ḥál is defined to be "a state which occurs to the heart spontaneously and without effect, like grief or fear, or desire or joy, and which ceases as soon as the natural dispositions of the soul manifest themselves."

"Happy that time when we leave ourselves,
When we shall be rich in deepest poverty."[2]

To the man intoxicated with the wine of divine love, the Paradise of the ordinary believers is phenomenal, and, as such, no longer an object of desire. It would only hinder the complete effacement of self, and would ill accord with the "uttermost poverty," as it lies apart from real unity for, "so long as heaven and hell are in the way, the soul can never realize the mystery."

It is at this stage that impostors are sometimes found, and they cast discredit on it, but it is said that the fact that some men use terms without knowing their real signification, and without experiencing their reality, is not to be looked on as making them unreal.

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[1] Whinfield's *Maṣnawi*, p. 20.

[2] خوش آندم که ما بی خویش باشیم * غنیٔ مطلق و درویش باشیم

Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 699.

"Though to all men the secrets of the truth are not known,
These mystic states are not mere illusion."[1]

The next stage is that of Ḥaqiqat, the Truth. This is called by some the stage of saintship, as being that at which saints and prophets arrive. It has its most perfect and complete example in Muḥammad, who is the Saint and Prophet, *par excellence*.

"Individual saints are, as it were, his members,
For he is the whole and they are the parts."[2]

The next stage is that of Waṣl, or union with God. "By the help of God's grace I am now become safe, because the unseen King says to me, 'Thou art the soul of the world.'"[3]

God is the world and the Ṣúfi at this stage becomes identical with the divine essence and can say with Manṣúr Ḥalláj: "I am God."[4] He now ignores all separate existence, and nothing remains but real Being. The chamber of the heart is swept clear of all phenomenal appearances, and then it is that God enters in, for "in you void of yourself will He display His beauty."[5]

Until the knower is quite free from the stain of existence the knowledge which he has gained has not the form of experience.[6]

Or, as Ḥáfiẓ says:

"Sweep off the life of Ḥáfiẓ as a dream,
While Thou art, none shall hear me say, 'I am.'"

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1 نه هر کس داند اسرار حقیقت * مجازی نیست احوال حقیقت
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 738.

2 وجود اولیا او را چو عضو ند * که او کلیست و ایشان همچو جزو ند

3 از مددِ لطفِ او ایمن گشتم از آنك * گوید سلطانِ غیب جانِ جهانی مرا
Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode vi.

4 أَنَا ٱلْحَقّ Manṣúr Ḥalláj was beheaded in 309 A. H. for this saying.

5 بتو بی تو جمالی خود نماید *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, line 402.

6 ز هستی تا بود باقی برو شین * نیاید علمِ عارف صورت عین
Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 404.

The following passage from the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* describes this stage more fully :—

> " The glory of the ' Truth ' admits of no duality,
> In that glory is no ' I ', nor ' we ', nor ' thou.'
> ' I ', ' we ', ' thou ', and ' He ' are all one thing,
> For in unity there is no distinction of persons." [1]

This absorption is sometimes described as being two forms and figures with one soul, and sometimes as being two souls in one body. In the one case as in the other the union is complete, for

> " Happy is that time when we both sat in one palace—thou and I,
> With two forms, two figures, but with one soul—thou and I." [2]

The verse of the Qurán, " Oh ! thou soul which art at rest, return to thy Lord pleased and pleasing Him : enter thou among my servants and enter thou my Paradise " [3] is interpreted to mean that God and the blessings of His presence are to be found in the heart of the believer. Thus Jelálu'd-dín says [4] :—

> " The Prophet said, that God hath declared,
> I am not contained in aught above or below.
> I am not contained in earth, or sky, or even
> In highest heaven, know this for a surety, O beloved !
> I am contained in the believer's heart !
> If you seek me, search in such hearts."

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[1] جناب حضرت حق را دوئی نیست * دران حضرت من و ما و توئی نیست
من و ما و تو و او هست یك چیز * که در وحدت نباشد هیچ تمئیز
Gulshan-i-Ráz, lines 448-9.

[2] خنك آن دم که بنشینیم در ایوان – من و تو
بدو نقش و بدو صورت بیکی جان – من و تو
Dewán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode xxxviii.

[3] ارجِعی اِلیٰ رَبّكِ رَاضِيَّةً مَرضِيَةً فَادْخُلِي فِي عِبْدی وَ ادْخُلِي جَنَّتِي
Súra lxxxix, 27–30.

[4] کفت پیغمبر که حق فرموده است * من نگنجم هیچ در بالا و پست
در زمین و آسمان و عرش نیز * من نگنجم این یقین دان ای عزیز
در دل مومن نگنجم ای عجب * گر مرا جوئی دران دلها طلب
Maṣnawi, Book I, Tale viii.

There is a tradition to the same effect.

قُلُوبُ الْمُومنينَ عَرْشُ اللّٰهِ تعالیٰ

" The hearts of believers are the throne of God."

Manṣúr Ḥalláj is reported to have said :

"I am He whom I love and He whom I love is I ;
We are two souls dwelling in one body.
When thou seest me, thou seest Him,
When thou seest Him, thou seest us both."[1]

Jelálu'd-dín describes how the emancipated man is exalted above heaven and earth and rises to a state past all description. It was :—

"Ecstacy and words beyond all ecstatic words,
Immersion in the glory of the Lord of glory,
Immersion from which escape was none
Except as ocean, no one knew him more."[2]

A favourite illustration is that of a number of candles, each of which gives light ; but the full light of all cannot be divided into separate parts. One light and one only is diffused. When the outward form is looked upon, this unity is not seen, but when with the "inner eye" search is made for the divine light, the complete union is manifest.[3] Language such as this has been used by mystics in other lands and under different conditions of time and place. Thus Tauler says : "He (man) flings himself into the divine abyss, in which he dwelt eternally before he was created ; then when God finds the man thus simply and nakedly turned towards Him, the Godhead bends down and descends into the depths of the pure waiting soul, and transforms the created soul, drawing it up in the uncreated essence, so the spirit becomes one with him."[4] He also says: "Raise thyself to the height of

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1 أَنَا مَنْ أَهْوَى وَ مَنْ أَهْوَى أَنَا * نَحْنُ رُوحَانِ حَلَلْنَا بَدَنَا
فَإِذَا أَبْصَرْتَنِي أَبْصَرْتَهُ * وَ إِذَا أَبْصَرْتَهُ أَبْصَرْتَنَا
Nicholson's *Dewán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi*, p. 296.

2 حال و قالی از ورای حال و قال * غرق گشته در جمال ذوالجلال
غرقهٔ نی که خلاصی باشدش * یا بجز دریا کسی بشناسدش
Maṣnawi, Book I, Tale viii.

3 چون بصورت بنگری چشمت دو است * تو بنورش در نگر کان یکتو است
Maṣnawi.

4 Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*. Vol. I, p. 299.

religion and all veils are removed; the world and the dead principle passes away from thee and the very Godhead enters thee anew in its first and original form, as life, as thine own life, which thou shalt and oughtest to live."[1] Again he says: "For if the highest and most glorious unity, which is God Himself, is to be united to the soul, it must be through oneness. Now, when the soul hath utterly forsaken itself and all creatures and made itself free from all manifoldness, then the sole unity, which is God, answers truly to the oneness of the soul, for there is nothing in the soul beside God."[2]

At this stage the desire for heaven even may be a hindrance to perfect union.

> "What have we to do with the desire for the highest heavens?
> When our journey is to the rose garden of union."[3]

The next and final stage is Faná, or that of extinction. This is referred to in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* in the verses which direct the traveller to drink the wine which is free from all phenomenal qualities, and to wash away the writing which describes separate Being. When this is done he will be able to say: "Now I neither exist in myself, nor do I not exist." Some of the latest words of Jelálu'd-dín were: "All being came out of nothing and again it will be shut up in the prison of non-existence. Such is God's decree from all eternity." "Why learn about the unity of God. Annihilate thyself before the One. If thou wouldest shine with the splendour of day, burn up thy separate existence as black as night.[4]

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[1] Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*. Vol. I, p. 212.

[2] Overton's *Life of Law*, p. 151.

[3] چه جای هواهای عرش و فلك * بگلزارِ وصلت شیران ما

Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode ii.

[4] چیست توحید خدا آموختن * خویشتن را پیش واحد سوختن
گر همی خواهی که بفروزی چو روز * هستی همچون شب خود را بسوز

Maṣnawi, Book I, Tale x.

No soul can enter heaven without passing through this stage of annihilation, for

> "What is ascension to heaven? annihilation of self.
> To abandon self is the creed and religion of lovers."[1]

A story is told of how a gnat came to Solomon and complained about the enmity of the wind. The King summoned both parties to his presence. The wind came and instantly the gnat flew away. This is said to represent those who seek the presence of God and when He appears, they vanish. In other words "there must be annihilation of self, before there can be union with God."

> "Though that life is life eternal,
> Yet at first it is annihilation."[2]

Ḥáfiẓ says:—"Do not let your heart worry about existence and non-existence, for the latter is the end of every perfect thing." The true way to eternal life is through annihilation of self and all phenomena. Reason is called upon to tread the way of annihilation in order to get the larger life. "O Reason, to gain eternal life, live everlastingly the way of death."[3] So long as there is any sense of individuality left, even prayer is not real.

> "When your essence is free from all stain (of individuality),
> Then it is that your prayers are a joy.
> There remains then no distinction,
> Knower and known are one and the same."[4]

All creeds, all law, are things of the past. They had a temporary use, but are now no more. Jelálu'd-dín compares them to

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1 هست معراج فلك اين نيستى * عاشقان را مذهب و دين نيستى
2 اگرچه آن وصلت بقا اندر بقاست * ليك از اول بقا اندر فنا است

Maṣnawi, Book III, Tale xviii.

3 وى عقل بهر آن بقا دائم برو راه فنا
This is the بقا بعد الفنا

Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode iv.

4 چو ذاتت پاك گردد از همه شين * نمازت گردد انگه قرة العين
نماند درميانه هيچ تمئيز * شود معروف و عارف جمله يك چيز

Gulshan-i-Ráz, line 412.

water flowing down a mill stream which provides for man's needs, but when once these have been supplied the water is turned off and the mill stops.[1] At this stage it is useless to enunciate the dogma of the Unity even. The true light is gained not by accepting a dogma, but by the annihilation of self in the darkness of the night of non-existence.

The seeker after all his search, the traveller after all his wearisome journey, passes behind the veil and finds—nothing. Sad ending to so much effort.

The circle is now complete. In the downward descent law was obeyed and creeds were believed; in the upward ascent the hold on both was loosened more and more, until at last the traveller became the azád, or the free; the be-shara', or one without law; the majzúb-i-mutlaq, or the entirely devoted. So "his end is joined to his beginning,"[2] and he re-enters the normal element from which he originally sprung. This last state is sometimes likened to a pair of compasses, the impression made by which ends where it begins.[3]

At this stage there is often some confusion of thought in Persian poetry, for the perfect devotee is sometimes represented as obedient to law.

> "The Saint is obedient as to his essence,
> He is a devotee in the street of essence.
> However his work is finished at the time
> That his end is joined again to his beginning."[4]

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[1] *Masnawi*, Book I, Tale ii.

[2] باغاز گردد باز انجام

[3] دگر باره شود مانند پرکار * بران کاری که اول بود درکار
Gulshan-i-Ráz.

[4] بود تابع ولی از روی معنی * بود عابد ولی در کوی معنی
ولی وقتی رسد کارش با تمام * که بآغاز گردد باز انجام

These obscure verses are explained by a Persian Commentator to mean that, though the man is absorbed in the Truth, he is still obedient as to his essence, because by obedience he obtained his exaltation. "Beginning" denotes the state of phenomenal existence and "end" the state of absorption is the absolute. The saint first

The explanation seems to be that, having made the ascent *to* the divine, he now descends again, not as at first, but *in* God, in order that he may make disciples of others still in darkness and error.[1] Thus, for the sake of example only he is obedient. Those whom he gains then make the ascent as he has done, and so all Ṣúfis come at last to the stage when

"Gracious is He to those who return to Him."[2]

In an ode of much beauty in the original, Shams-i-Tabrizi describes the perfect Ṣúfi. A few lines are here given.[3]

"The man of God is drunken without wine,
The man of God is a treasure in a ruin.
The man of God is not of air and earth,
The man of God is not of fire and water.
The man of God is a boundless sea,
The man of God rains pearls without a cloud.
The man of God is made wise by the Truth,
The man of God is not learned from books.[4]
The man of God is beyond infidelity and religion,

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accomplishes the journey to God which ends in faná, or absorption; then he abides in eternal life, baqá, or in God and then journeys down again to his beginning in the 'journey from God along with God' and is conscious that he is Unity in plurality. The mystic circle is now complete.

Note in Whinfield's *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, p. 35.

1 *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, lines 345-6.

2 فانه كان للاوابين غفورا—Súra xvii. 27.

3 مرد خدا مست بود بی شراب * مرد خدا گنج بود در خراب
مرد خدا نیست ز باد و ز خاك * مرد خدا نیست ز نار و ز آب
مرد خدا بحر بود بی کران * مرد خدا بارد دُر بی سحاب
مرد خدا عالم از حق بود * مرد خدا نیست فقیه از کتاب
مرد خدا زان سوی کفر است و دین * مرد خدا را چه خطا و صواب
مرد خدا گشت سوار از عدم * مرد خدا آمد عالی رکاب
مرد خدا هست نهان شمس دین * مرد خدا را تو بجوی و بیاب

Diwán-i-Shams-i-Tabrizi, Ode viii. The translation of this and of several other quotations, is by R. A. Nicholson, whose edition of the *Diwán* is an excellent one.

4 Mere learning from books will not make a theologian. The knowledge of God comes by عشق love, the spiritual faculty, intuition, illumination which is opposed to عقل the intellectual faculty.

To the man of God right and wrong are alike.[1]
The man of God has ridden away from Not-being,
The man of God is gloriously attended.
The man of God is concealed, Shamsi Din,
The man of God do thou seek and find."

The earlier Muḥammadan mystics sought to impart life to a rigid and formal ritual, and though the seeds of pantheism were planted in their system from the first, they maintained that they were orthodox. "Our system of doctrine," said Al-Junaid "is firmly bound up with the dogmas of the Faith, the Qurán, and the Traditions." There was a moral earnestness about these men which frequently restrained the arm of unrighteous despotism, and their sayings seem to show some appreciation of the spiritual side of life. Thus, "as neither meat nor drink profit the deceased body, so no warning avails to touch the heart full of the love of the world." "The work of the holy man doth not consist in this, that he eats grain and clothes himself in Ṣúf, or wool; but in the knowledge of God and in submission to His will." "Hide thy good deeds as closely as thou wouldst hide thy sins." "He will never gain heaven, who considers himself perfect." "He does not advance towards God who considers himself perfect. There is no sickness worse than this." "Boast not brother; whatsoever thou hast done, God knows thy heart." "The light of religion alone can quench the fire of lust." "Wait content, God knows what is best."

Now and again men are warned that they will reap as they sow, and in a striking passage Jelálud-dín Rúmi describes how at the day of judgment every thought which has passed through the mind in this life will be embodied in a visible form, just as the ideas of the architect find an outward expression in the completed building, or as a tree in the development of the seed placed in the ground.[2]

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[1] The Ṣúfi is above law. All he does, good or bad, is in harmony with the divine will.

[2] این خیال اینجا نهان پیدا اثر * زین خیال آنجا برویاند صور
در مهندس بین خیال خانهٔ * در دلش چون در زمینی دانهٔ

Maṣnawi, Book V, Tale viii.

In the wild days when Muslim chiefs went forth to conquer or to die, when dynasty succeeded dynasty in bewildering rapidity, when might was right and autocratic power ruled, sometimes well oftener ill, millions of the human race, the Ṣúfi poets acted as men of heroic mould and gave to Sultans and to Shahs, fearless of all consequence, sound and good advice. Thus the poet Jámi to a ruler could say:—

> "Thou art a shepherd, and thy flock the people
> To help and save, not ravage and destroy,
> For which is for the other, flock or shepherd?

Even in a book like the great poem of Jelálu'd-dín Rúmi, in which Ṣúfiism pure and simple, with all its disregard for the outward restraints of an objective revelation, is inculcated, the author now and again teaches sound and wise principles.

> "To trust in God, and yet put forth our utmost skill,
> The surest method is to work His holy will,
> The friend of God must work."

Again he says:—

> "The Prophet cried with a loud voice,
> Trust in God, yet tie the camel's leg.
> Hear the adage, 'The worker is the friend of God';
> Trust in Providence, but neglect not to use means." [1]

Still, the effect of the system has been bad and has worked for evil in Islám. Pantheistic in creed and too often antinomian in practice, it possesses no regenerative power. The divorce between the religious and the worldly life has been disastrous. Ṣúfiism has discriminated between those who by renouncing the world profess to know God, and those whom it terms the ignorant herd. When man's apparent individuality is looked upon as a delusion of the perceptive faculty, there seems no room left for will or conscience. "A movement animated at its outset by a high and

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[1] گفت پیغمبر بآواز بلند * با توکل زانو اشتر ببند
رمز الکاسب حبیب الله شنو * از توکل در سبب کاهل نشو

Maṣnawi, Book I, Tale v.

lofty purpose has degenerated into a fruitful source of ill. The stream which might have been a fertilising river has become a vast swamp, exhaling vapours charged with disease and death." Count Gobineau says that the Ṣúfis in Persia encourage the use of opium in order to excite the imagination of their followers and he considers that they are responsible, in a great measure, for implanting habits of intoxication among the people. He further adds "In any case one can say boldly that this vast association . . . . . . has been and is still, in the nature of its influence, very fatal in Asiatic countries. All that it has produced are quietism, use of opium and abject drunkenness."[1]

How it all deadens the sense of sin is seen in 'Umr Khayyám's verse,

> "Khayyám! why weep you that your life is bad;
> What boots it thus to mourn? Rather be glad.
> He that sins not can make no claim to mercy;
> Mercy was made for sinners—be not sad."[2]

In a collection of short fragmentary pieces like the Diván of Ḥáfiẓ, or in a longer poem like the Maṣnawi of Jelálu'd-dín Rúmi the pearls of Ṣúfíistic love, to use an eastern metaphor, are loosely strung together, and it is only very patient students who can find the esoteric meaning of the poet. There is, however, a small poem less widely known, but which is unrivalled as an exposition of Ṣúfíism. It is the *Salámán* and *Absál* by the great poet Jámi. The advantage of the form of instruction he has adopted in it is that the tale is continuous and is explained by the author himself.

Jámi according to the usual custom of the poets, commences by an invocation of the eternal Spirit. Then confused and lost in the contemplation of self and of that 'other than self' he prays:—

> "Do Thou my separate and derived self
> Make one with thy Essential! Leave me room

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[1] *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans L'Asie Centrale*, pp. 769, 70, 72.

[2] خیام از بهر گنه این ماتم چیست * و زخوردن غم فایده بیش و کم چیست
انرا که گنه نکرد غفران نبود * غفران ز برای گنه آمد غم چیست

Rubá'iyát.

On that Diván which leaves no room for twain ;
Lest, like the simple Arab in the tale,
I grow perplext, oh God, 'twixt 'Me' and 'Thee'
If I—this spirit that inspires me whence ?
If Thou— then what this sensual impotence ?" [1]

This gives the key-note to the whole story which is an account of the way in which the soul returns to Him who made it. The Arab story referred to is an amusing and excellent illustration of the manner in which matters of serious moment were lightly parodied.

A simple Arab of the desert came to the busy city of Baghdad. The busy bustling crowd confused this child of the desert. He longed for rest and sleep :—

"But then, on waking
'How,' quoth he, 'amid so many
Waking know myself again ?'
So to make the matter certain,
Strung a gourd about his ankle,
And, unto a corner creeping,
Baghdad and himself and people
Soon were blotted from his brain.
But one that heard him, and divined
His purpose, slily crept behind ;
From the sleeper's ankle slipping,
Round his own the pumpkin tied,
Then laid him down to sleep beside.
By and by the Arab waking,
Looks directly for his signal,
Sees it on another's ankle,
Cries aloud, 'oh good-for-nothing
Rascal to perplex me so !
That by you I am bewildered,
Whether I be I or no !
If I—the pumpkin why on you ?
If you— then where am I and who ?' "

[1] The English translation of the verses are from "*Poems from the Persian*" Bernard Quaritch 1879.

After this serious and this comic introduction the story begins. A king, a successor of the famous Sikandar, had a wise counsellor who guided him in all matters of state-craft with so much skill that the rule of the Shah extended to the Koh-i-kaf, the limits of the then known world. Far and wide went the mandate of the Shah, and none dared to disobey his behest, but notwithstanding all this power and glory the heart of the Shah was sad. He had no son and heir. He called for his counsellor, known as the Sage, and confided to him his intense desire for a son; but the Sage points out that all the advantages of a son so eloquently described by the Shah relate to a *good* son, but, as bad sons are not unknown, his advice is that the Shah should not trouble about it.

The Shah retains his desire and "with magic mighty wisdom his own will colleagued, and wrought his own accomplishment, when lo! from darkness came a child to light, a child formed in no carnal mould." His name was Salámán.[1] As he had no earthly mother, a young and beautiful nurse, Absál by name, tended him with loving care till he reached the age of fourteen. As a lad he excelled in all manly exercises, was skilful with the lyre, melodious in song, and played to perfection the chess[2] of social intercourse.

Meanwhile Absál looks with desire upon the beauty of the lad whom she had cared for and tended. At length he falls a victim to her blandishment. The Shah and the Sage are sorely grieved. The father bids the boy ride, hunt, fight, do anything except submit "to be slain by the arrow eye of a gazelle."

The Sage next tried to reason with the lad. But to the entreaties of both Salámán turned a deaf ear, and being unable to meet the arguments of the Sage, he placed Absál on a fleet camel, and mounted by her side stole away. Six days and nights they hurried on, till their further flight was arrested

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1 A compound of Salámat, (peace) and Asmán, (heaven), for he brought the peace of Paradise to his father.

2 Metaphors and similes drawn from the game of chess are constantly used by Persian poets.

by a mighty sea. The lovers felt that safety was only to be secured on the other side, and to attain this end they constructed a skiff of scented wood and launched upon the deep. At length, they reached an island, rich in flowers and fruit, and in birds of varied plumage and sweet of song. Salámán now found rest. All thought of journeying onward passed away and both gave themselves up to full enjoyment.

All this time the Shah had mourned for the flight of his son. He changed his "royal robe for ashes, and his throne for dust." All search for the fugitives failed.

> "Then from his secret art the sage vizier
> A magic mirror made—a mirror like
> The bosom of all-wise intelligence."

The Shah looked upon the mirror and saw in the far distant isle his darling entranced by the charms of the beautiful Absál. Days passed by and still the Shah

> "Beheld his son now in the woman lost,
> And still the crown that should adorn his head,
> And still the throne that waited for his foot,
> Both trampled under by a base desire,
> Of which the soul was still unsatisfied."

The Shah lost all patience, he brought all the power of his will to bear on the young prodigal. Then Salámán, being mesmerised, could see but could not reach his love. In agony and despair he turned and saw his father's arm ready to rescue him from his fate. But the attractions of Absál were still too strong. Again he leaves his home and flees with the partner of his faults and follies. This time it is not to an earthly paradise, but to the solitude of desolation—a wilderness of death. Sad and weary they construct a funeral pile, apply a light and leap into the flame.

> "But the Sage
> In secret all had order'd, and the flame
> Directed by his self-fulfilling will,
> Devouring her to ashes, left untouched
> Salámán—all the baser metal burn'd,
> And to itself the authentic gold return'd."

Salámán now stood alone in his individuality, but that utter loneliness was maddening, his eyes wept blood, his sighs rose up like smoke to heaven. Then the Sage found him pensive and sad, and, exercising his magic will, raised a phanton of Absál which appeared for a while and then passed into oblivion. The sight recalled Salámán to himself and again the flame of love was kindled. The Sage saw this and described in glowing terms the lovely Zuhrah (Venus), a very star of beauty, to whom Absál and all such worldly creatures were but as the glimmer of a taper. Salámán listened and, as he listened, Zuhrah in all her glorious beauty stood beside him, and then for ever blotted Absál's image from his breast. Thus he left that which was earthly, and let it go for the eternal love, which he at last had found.

Great were now the rejoicings in the Court of the Shah. Kings and Princes, Amirs, and Nobles, all from far and near obeyed the call of their sovereign lord the Shah, and came to do obeisance to the son lost and found, the heir to the golden crown and throne of gold.

This is a bare outline of the tale, after the relation of which the poet proceeds to supply "the key to unlock the cabinet of meaning." It is this.

According to Jámi's interpretation of the Ṣúfi cosmogony,

"The incomparable Creator, when this world
He did create, created first of all
The First Intelligence—first of a chain
Of ten Intelligences, of which the last
Sole agent is in this our universe,
Active Intelligence so called—the one
Distributor of evil and of good,
Of joy and sorrow. Himself apart from matter
In essence and in energy, He yet
Hath fashioned all that is—material form
And spiritual, all from Him, by Him
Directed all, and in His bounty drown'd.
Therefore is He that firmán-issuing Shah
To whom the world was subject."

A higher power supplies all that the Shah distributes to the universe. The higher power is the Sage, the wisdom. Then of pure spirit, with no taint of matter, the soul of man was produced. This is Salámán. The soul for its outward garb requires a body, through which as a medium it may perceive and receive the joy and delight of things of sense. This body is Absál.

"These[1] in such a bond
United which God only can divide,
As lovers in this tale are signified."

The island in the deep is the 'world of being,' in which the soul remains apart from its Creator. Salámán fell short of his desire, and this shows that in the external world of sense there is no permanent joy, and that existence in the 'other' leads to no real peace. Thus he goes back to his father, the soul returns to its true parentage. Still it needs discipline, until all desire of separate existence is purged away. The process, even after the fiery trial is slow, and so the Sage calls up a picture of the past, a phantom Absál, but follows it up by a revelation to Salámán of one purer and better far than the companion of his existence in the world of sense. Then all mortal love, all desire for phenomenal existence, passes away, and he reigns one with the Last and First Intelligence.

The point of the allegory is that Salámán returns not to the "Incomparable Creator," but to that which He created "the Last and First Intelligence."[2] It is certainly to this, and not to the Creator to which Jámi makes Salámán return. The Muslim idea of God is that of a pitiless fate—a God afar off. Ṣúfíism is an attempt of the human mind to bridge over this gulf. This First Intelligence, or Primal Element, is represented as a manifestation of God, a means by which other created beings are formed. The question then arises, whether all allusions in the Ṣúfi poets to the absorption of the

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[1] That is, soul and body.

[2] For the various names by which this First Intelligence is described, see p. 10.

soul in a superior being mean re-union with God, or with some manifestation of God. The Qurán says plainly enough "from Him was the origin and to Him is the return."[1] Jámi might reply that 'Him' here means God as manifested in the First and Last Intelligence, by which He, the Shah of the allegory, created the worlds and through which He executes His decrees. If Jámi's exposition of Ṣúfi doctrine is correct, it makes even the most spiritual aspect of Islám dark and dreary, for it shows us how men, apparently longing for a closer communion with God, fell short of the mark; how even to them He is still "sterile in His inaccessible height," satisfied to let them feel that they can never be more than slaves, that nearness to Him is impossible. They felt the need of some intermediary, they found it in a revival of the old gnostic notions of the Æons, forms of manifestation of the Ineffable and Incomprehensible. The gnostic theory was that God was immanent, incomprehensible, and the original source of all perfection. "From this incomprehensible essence of God an immediate transition to finite things is not conceivable. Self-limitation is the first beginning of a communication of life on the part of God, the first passing of the hidden Deity into manifestation, and from this proceeds all further self-developing manifestation of the divine essence. Now, from this primal link in the chain of life there are evolved, in the first place, the manifold powers or attributes inherent in the divine essence, which, until that first self-comprehension, were all hidden in the abyss of His essence. These divine powers, evolving themselves to self-subsistence, become thereupon the germs and principles of all further developments of life."[2] All this, to which the Ṣúfi would subscribe, shows how much Ṣúfíism owes to gnosticism. The true antidote for both is a faith in great historical facts, on which the religious convictions of all men alike can depend.

The Ṣúfi, being a Muslim, was too proud to search into the true

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[1] Sura x, iv.

[2] Neander's *Church History*, Vol. II, p. 11.

historical facts of the Christian religion, or he would then have found just what would have met his case and satisfied his soul, God manifested, not in some intangible principle; but in a living person, in One who "is the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature. For by Him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by Him and for Him, and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist."[1] Those in whom His spirit dwells are His spiritual body. Thus, do they even now become joined to Him, as the branches are in the vine. They are one in life, one in purpose, but preserving now and evermore a conscious existence, are prepared to enjoy throughout time and eternity communion with one who is very God of very God. To such a conception the Ṣufi never attained, for union with God to him seemed hopeless, and repudiating altogether, or ignorant of the true meaning of the Incarnation of the Son of God, his only aspiration was to become extinct in the Primal Intelligence, the goal of all his efforts.

He failed to realize the higher truth which inspires the Christian poet:—

> "That each who seems a separate whole,
> Should move his rounds, and fusing all
> The skirts of self again, should fall
> Remerging in the general soul,
> Is faith as vague as all unsweet.
> Eternal form shall still divide
> The eternal soul from all beside,
> And I shall know him when we meet."[2]

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[1] Colossians i. 15-17. [2] Tennyson's *In Memoriam.*

The poem Salámán and Absál is well rendered into English in the edition published by Bernard Quaritch, 1879.

THE BÁB AND THE BÁBÍS.

II.

The modern sect of the Bábís is closely connected with the mystical modes of thought of the Ṣúfis, and with the teaching of the Shí'ahs on the Imám, his position and functions. It is not strictly correct to call them a Muslim sect, for they practically discard the Qurán and supersede Muḥammad. But the close connection of Bábíism with Muḥammadan dogmas, its present-day importance and the devotion of its followers claim for it thoughtful study.

Mírzá Káẓim Beg, writing in the year 1866, says: "From its first appearance the teaching of the Báb has been distinguished from all other reforms, which have hitherto been produced in Persia or the East generally, by a well marked aspiration towards truth and towards liberty of conscience. Although in the development of the doctrine, human passions and fanatic strife have left their impress, yet we can perceive some things which are directed toward good desires and towards the freedom of the human will."[1] He also adds: "There is not in the history of Asia a schism so remarkable as that of the Báb. It owes its extraordinary success to the zeal of its Muríds, or disciples. Amongst these are women who have played an important part,

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, p. 331.

great lords of the Shah's court, and, from the ranks of the 'Ulamá, the Seyyids or descendants of Muḥammad."[1]

These are the words of a thoughtful Musalmán who is in no sense a friend to Bábíism, but who seeks to give a fair historical account of the Báb and his followers up to the year 1866. The subject has more recently been investigated by Mr. E. G. Browne, Lecturer in Persian at the University of Cambridge. His work, *The Episode of the Báb*, is a most valuable contribution to the knowledge of a movement as remarkable as it is little known. It brings the history nearly up to the present day. Much previous knowledge of Muslim thought and ways is, however, necessary to the intelligent study of the few existing works on the subject.

No sect in modern days has suffered such persecution and survived. The movement is one which illustrates the mystical tendency of Persian thought, the fanaticism of the Mullás, and the barbarity of the rulers; but all the efforts of the Muslim Church and State in Persia have hitherto failed to suppress Bábíism, or to lessen the veneration in which the Báb is held by those who accept his teaching.

The Musalmáns of Persia belong to the Shí'ah sect, which, itself formed by a revolt from orthodox Islám, has been more than any other section of the Muḥammadan people subject to divisions. This is partly due to the character of the Persians, and partly to a somewhat freer spirit, which, as compared with the Sunnís, the Shí'ahs cultivate. Outwardly, it is true, there is not much difference, and the freedom is only a relative one; but under the garb of faultless profession, the Shí'ahs have always held many esoteric doctrines and have secretly taught them. The Ṣúfis, or mystics, are the best example of this, but the Bábís seem to have little or no connection with them.

The Persians are not naturally a narrow minded people. In the past they have shown considerable freedom of thought. It is true that their first great revolt against orthodox Islám was largely

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Sèrie, p. 333.

influenced by political motives, but it was not altogether free from intellectual aspirations. The Mutazala, the Ṣúfi, the Bábí are all more or less rationalistic and the two latter, being extremely mystical, should be liberal in their views. The Persians no longer lead in literature and philosophy, but some of the old traditions remain, and they are open to varying impulses and modes of thought, and yet there is no real religious freedom and no true religious toleration.

In order to understand the special standpoint of the Báb and to have an intelligent knowledge of his claims as a religious leader, we must consider briefly the central and special doctrine of the Shí'ah system. It is known as the dogma of the Imámat. Sharastání defines it thus[1]: "The Imámat is a light (núr) which passes from one to the other and becomes prophetship." "The Imáms are prophets and divine. Divinity is a ray (núr) in prophetship, which again is a ray in Imámat, and the world is never free from these signs and lights (anvár)."

The Khalif of the Sunni sect, though according to Muḥammadán tradition he should be an Arab and a descendant of the Quraish tribe, is now a Turk, and may, practically, be a man of any race who can command the allegiance of the orthodox. Amongst the Shí'ahs the Imám occupies this position not by election[2], or by virtue of any special capacities, but by divine right and his office is altogether spiritual.[3] The first Imám, 'Ali, was

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[1] *Milal wa Niḥal*, pp. 133, 135.

[2] There is one exception. The people of Omán adopted the elective principle and held that the Imám might be deposed for misconduct. 'Abdu'lláh-ibn 'Ibádh (744 A.D.) was a vigorous preacher of this doctrine, and from him the sect known as the 'Ibádhiyáh takes its rise. The result of his teaching was the establishment of the power and jurisdiction of the Imáms of Omán. A full account will be found in Dr. Badger's *Seyyids of Oman.*

[3] "In a word, the Khalif (خليفه) of the Sunnis is merely the outward and visible Defender of the Faith; the Imám of the Shí'ahs is the divinely ordained successor of the Prophet, one endowed with all perfections and spiritual gifts, one whom all the faithful must obey, whose decision is absolute and final, whose wisdom is superhuman." *Episode of the Báb*, p. 296.

appointed by Muḥammad and the rest are his divinely ordained successors. They are believed to be immaculate, infallible, and perfect guides to men. "The Imámites believe that the Imám is preserved inviolate from sin and knows all things."[1] "The authority of the Imám is the authority of God, his word is the word of God and of the prophet, and obedience to his orders is incumbent."[2] It is said, "God calls the Imáms His word, His hands, His signs, His secret." Their commands and prohibitions, their actions also, He recognises as His own. Thus Sharastání: "The orders of the Imáms are divine."[3] As mediums between God and man they hold a far higher position than the prophets, for "the grace of God, without their intervention, reaches to no created being." The Imám is the supreme Pontiff, the Vicar of God. The possession of an infallible book is not enough. The infallible guide is also needed by the Shí'ah. This is the general belief about the Imáms and their functions, though there are differences of opinion as to the succession. Setting aside the smaller and less important sects, we may notice the two principal ones. The Ismá'ílíans, who reckon 'Ali as the first Imám, believe in twelve.[4] The other sect is that of the Imámites, who hold that Ṣádiq, the sixth Imám, was the last one who publicly exercised the office, and that after his time, not after that of Imám Abu'l-Qásim, the succession of the concealed Imáms commenced. It is not at all necessary to enter into the question of these different opinions. The point which now concerns us is that both sects equally believed that there never could be a time when there should be no Imám. "The earth is never without a living Imám, though concealed." "He who dies without knowing the Imám, or who is not his disciple, dies ignorant."[5]

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[1] *Jelálu'd-dín As-Suyúṭi.* Bibliotheca Indica, Fas: v. p. 473.

[2] *Ḥyátu-n-nafís.*

[3] *Milal wa Niḥal,* p. 132.

[4] The names and order are as follows:—'Alí ibn Abí Tálib, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, 'Alí (Imám Zeynu'l 'Abidín), Muḥammad Bákir, Ja'far-i-Ṣádiq, Músa Qásim, 'Alí ibn Músá ar-Riza, Muḥammad Takí, 'Alí Nakí, Ḥasan 'Askari, and Abu'l Qásim, or the Imám Mahdi. He is also called the Ḥujjatu'lláh (the proof of God).

[5] Sharastání in the *Milal wa Niḥal,* pp. 146, 147.

Abu'l Qásim (Al-Mahdi) succeeded his father as Imám in the year 260 A.H., just one thousand years before the manifestation of the Báb. He is said to have disappeared in the year 329 A.H. and to be now living in one of the two mysterious cities—Jábulka and Jábulsa.[1] It is believed that in due time he will reappear, that Jesus Christ will herald his approach, that then injustice and misery will be put away, that the true (Shí'ah) faith will prevail, and that a millennium of happiness will be ushered in. Meanwhile, he is invisible and inaccessible to the great mass of his followers. At first, however, he held direct intercourse in some way with a select few who were the channels of communication between himself and the larger body. These intermediaries were called Abwáb, or Gates. Their names are Abú 'Umr 'Uṣmán ibn Sa'id 'Umarí, Abú Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Uṣmán, Ḥusain ibn Rúh Nawbakhtí, and Abú 'l-Ḥasan 'Alí ibn Muḥammad Símarí. For a period of sixty-nine years these Gates, one after the other, were the medium of communication with the Imám. This period is called that of the ghaibat-i-ṣughra[2], or minor occultation. The day came at length when the last Gate, Abú'l-Ḥasan, reached the end of life and the people begged him to nominate a successor, as his predecessors had done ; but he absolutely refused to do so, alleging as his reason that " God hath a purpose which He will accomplish." That which the Faithful had looked forward to with despair had now come to pass, and all intercourse with the Imám was at an end. This period is called the ghaibat-i-kubra, or major occultation.[3] The importance attached to these men and to their position is seen from the following extract from the *Beyán*, a Bábi book to be explained later on, in which we read :—" For God hath associated refuge in Himself with refuge in His Apostle, and refuge in His Apostle with refuge in His Executors (*i.e.*, the Imáms), and refuge in His

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[1] For a curious account of these by Ibn 'Abbás see the *Episode of the Báb*, pp. 299-301.

[2] غيبت صغری

[3] غيبت کبری

Executors with refuge in the Gates of His Executors......For refuge in the Apostle is the same as refuge with God, and refuge in the Imáms the same as refuge in the Apostle and refuge in the 'Gates' is identical with refuge in the Imáms." [1]

We next come to the time of Shai<u>kh</u> Aḥmad (1753-1826 A.D.) the founder of the Shai<u>kh</u>í sect. He was a devout ascetic and a man of independent thought. He had a profound belief in 'Alí, and was devoted to the memory of the Imáms, whom he looked upon as creative forces, arguing from the text, "God the best of creators" [2] that, if He be the best, He cannot be the only one. Mírzá Káẓim Beg describes him as a teacher who by his virtues, austerity, and erudition was celebrated amongst his contemporaries. Disciples flocked to him from all parts. The special point of his teaching was that "God is immanent in the Universe, which proceeds from Him, and that all the elect of God, all the Imáms, and all just persons are personifications of the divine attributes." According to this belief, he held that the twelve Imáms from 'Alí to Al-Mahdí were personifications of twelve chief attributes of God, and that, consequently, they were eternal. Amongst these Imáms 'Alí holds the highest rank, being superior to angels, to prophets, and to Muḥammad. [3]

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[1] زیرا که خداوند مقترن فرموده پناه بخود بپناه برسول خود و پناه برسولرا بپناه باوصیای خود و پناه باوصیای خود را بپناه بابواب اوصیای خود .... زیرا که پناه برسول عین پناه بخدا است و پناه بائمه عین پناه برسول و پناه بابواب عین پناه بائمه است *
Episode of the Báb, p. 233.

[2] الله احسن الخالقین *Súra* xxiii. 14.

[3] *Journal Asiatique*, Sixiéme Série, tome vii. p. 458.

Mírzá Káẓim Beg adds the following note:—"The scholastic Musalmáns say that the attributes of God are equal and of one quality; but to the human comprehension some appear superior to others, for example, mercy surpasses severity. According to the doctrine of the Ṣifátíans, the attributes of God are eternally inherent in His essence. The Mutazalas do not admit this and say: 'There is only one supreme existence and that is God; otherwise we must admit a multiplicity of eternal existences, which is contrary to the dogma of the divine unity.' The doctrine of the Shai<u>kh</u>í school is that the attributes of God proceed from the supreme existence, and by His own will become personified in blending with the human soul and spirit which also emanate from God."

He used also to quote the Tradition attributed to 'Alí, "I am the creator of the heavens and the earth"[1] and said that in reciting the first chapter of the Qurán, the Súratu'l-Fátiḥah, the worshipper should fix his thoughts on 'Alí and say "Thee do we worship."[2]

The successor of Shaikh Aḥmad was Ḥáji Seyyid Káẓim. He was a young man of a very strict manner of life and so mysterious in his actions that some of the more wordly-minded Persians looked upon him as foolish, but the greater part called him the Enlightened. The Shaíkhi doctrine now spread all through Persia. In Irák alone there were more than a hundred thousand disciples. "However, they did nothing to call forth the opposition of the Mullás, nor any political repression: on the contrary, among the admirers of the Shaikh were a great number of state officials, and of the chief among the clergy; all proud of his fame and enthusiastic about his philosophy."[3] He died in the year 1843 A.D. and left no successor. According to the Bábi writers he appointed no one, because he looked upon Shaikh Aḥmad and himself as forerunners of one who should shortly appear, and be far more glorious than they had been. Mr. Browne gives the following translation[4] of a passage in a Bábi history,[5] which bears on this point:—

"When Hájí Seyyid Káẓim had but recently departed this life,[6] I arrived at the supreme shrines (Kerbelá and Nejef) and heard from his disciples that the late Seyyid had, during the last two or three years of his life, wholly restricted his discourse, both in lecture room and pulpit, to discussing the promised Proof, the signs of his appearance and their explanation, and to enumerating the qualities of the Master of the dispensation, repeatedly declaring that he would be a

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1 انا خالق السموات والارض

2 ايّاك نعبد

3 *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, tome vii. p. 463.

4 *Episode of the Báb*, p. 239.

5 *The new History of the Báb.*

6 In the year 1259 A.H.—1843-4 A.D.

youth, that he would not be versed in the learning of men. Sometimes, too, he would say, 'I see him as the rising sun.' One day an Arab suddenly entered his presence and said, 'I have seen a vision touching your reverence. On receiving permission he repeated the dream; whereupon Seyyid Káẓim appeared somewhat troubled and said, 'The interpretation of this dream is this, that my departure is nigh at hand and I must go hence.' His companions, who were present, were much distressed and grieved at this intelligence; but he turned his face to them and said, 'The time of my sojourn in the world has come to an end, and this is my last journey. Why are ye so grieved and troubled because of my death? Do ye not then desire that I should go and that the true one should appear?'"

To Mullá Ḥusain, one of his most distinguished followers, he said, "From whatever quarter the sun of truth shall arise, it will irradiate all horizons and render the mirrors of believers' hearts capable of receiving the effulgence of the lights of wisdom."

The Shaikhís seem to have been expecting the advent of some one who should be their leader and so, after fastings, vigils, and prayers for guidance, they began to consider what was to be done in the matter of a successor, a spiritual director. They then went in different directions. Mullá Ḥusain proceeded to Shíráz and there met with Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad, who produced before him the signs of his call to his divine mission. Amongst these was his commentary on the Súra of Joseph, one of the chapters of the Qurán. To the enquiry of the Báb, as to whether the Shaikhís had yet appointed a successor to the late Seyyid Káẓim, he was obliged to say that as yet they had found no one worthy enough for so high an office. The Báb suggested that he might do, but Mullá Ḥusain could not see how one so young would do. One day the Báb said:—'By what sign canst thou recognize the Master'? Mullá Ḥusain replied, "By the possession of the Point of Knowledge, which is the source and centre of all the wisdom of past and future prophets and saints." Then followed marvellous expositions and clear explanations of most abstruse questions.[1] For

[1] A full account of Mullá Ḥusain's conversion is given in the Táríkh-i-Jadíd, pp. 34-38.

several days Mullá Ḥusain pondered over these matters, and, after a long and severe struggle, became convinced that he had found in the young and ardent enthusiast before him, the 'Proof', the 'True One', the 'Sun of Truth', to whose advent Ḥájí Seyyid Káẓim had pointed. "He wrote to his friends at Kerbelá that neither he himself nor any other of them was worthy of the high dignity of Murshid, or leader, and that that 'Illuminated One', to whom their late master had referred, was alone worthy. I have found him at Shíráz and he is worthy to be the Murshid."[1] It is for this reason, and because he so heartily espoused the cause of his new master, that Mullá Ḥusain is named the Bábu'l-Báb, or Gate of the Gate; the Ḥarf-i-Awwal, or First Letter, and the Awwal man ámana, or the First to believe. But this decision was not acceptable to all the Shaikhís. A party headed by Ḥájí Muḥammad Karím Khán[2] of Kirmán utterly refused to receive the Báb and became his bitterest persecutors. Indeed at his first examination at Tabríz, some of his opponents were Shaikhís, and some later on approved of his condemnation to death. The Shaikhís thus became divided into two sects. One passed on to Bábíism of which it was, in a way, the source. At all events, it gave it strength and a rapid diffusion. The other was, and continued to be, in fierce conflict with it. However, the great majority followed Mullá Ḥusain, and Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad become their recognized leader.

As the connection between the Bábís and the Shaikhís is thus so close, we must now see what was the special dogma of the latter sect. The orthodox Shí'ah creed consists of five articles, which are called arkán-i-dín, or the pillars or supports of the Faith. They are belief (1) in tauḥíd, or the unity of God, (2) in 'adl, or the justice of God, (3) in nabuwat, or prophetship, (4) in imámat, or the imámate, (5) in ma'úd, or the resurrection. The Shaikhís set aside the articles two and five, for they said that

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1 *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, tome vii. p. 465.

2 The Bábís called him the "Very Essence of Hell-fire."
جوهر جواهر كل نار *Episode of the Báb*, p. 242.

there seemed no sufficient reason why justice alone of all the attributes of God should be selected as an article of the creed, and that there was just as much reason for inserting His wisdom, power, or any other attribute. They also objected to the resurrection as a special article, on the ground that belief in the attribute of justice and in the resurrection is implied in the acceptance of prophetship. He who believes in a prophet accepts that which he sets forth, and these are cardinal parts of his teaching. To take the place of the rejected articles and to bring the number up to four they added a new one, which they called the rukn-i-rábi'[1], or the Fourth Support or Pillar. The meaning of this is that there must always be amongst believers one perfect man, a Shí'ah-i-kámil[2] who can be the wásiṭa-i-faiẓ,[3] or the channel of grace between the absent Imám and his people. Four pillars give stability to any thing, so no more are needed in a creed. The term 'Fourth Support' is primarily applied to the dogma that the concealed Imám must always have on earth some one who possesses his entire confidence, to whom he gives special spiritual instruction, and who is thus qualified to convey to the believers the wishes and wisdom of their invisible head.[4] The term has, however, come to be applied to the person who fulfils this office. It is said that Ḥáji Muḥammad Karím Kh̲án, the Shaik̲h̲í who refused to accept Mírzá 'Ali Muḥammad as a leader, considered himself to be the 'Fourth Support.' This, too, was the position of the Báb; at all events at first, for he claimed to be this 'Fourth Support,' and thus to occupy the place held by the 'Gates,' who were the intermediaries between the Imám and his followers during the minor occultation. Thus it is that Bábiism is connected with the very central doctrine of the Shí'ahs, though in many other ways it has so far departed from accepted Muḥammadan ideas as to form a new sect altogether. This will appear as we record the life and work of the Báb.

Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad was born at Shíráz, on the 9th of

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[1] ركن رابع [2] شيعهٔ كامل [3] واسطهٔ فيض

[4] Vide *Episode of the Báb*, pp. 243-4 for an exposition of these two views.

October, 1820. When quite young, he lost his father. He was brought up by an uncle who was engaged in mercantile pursuits. For a time the youth assisted his uncle, but as his mind was more inclined to religious meditation and speculative thought than to business affairs, he proceeded to Kerbelá, where he was brought into contact with Ḥájí Seyyid Káẓim, the Shaikhí leader, whose lectures he occasionally attended. At Kerbelá he was distinguished by his zeal for learning and by his remarkably austere life, as well as by the great esteem in which his teacher and others held him. Visitors to Kerbelá, especially those from Shíráz, showed him much consideration, and so his fame was spread abroad. He now began to commit his thoughts to writing, and composed a commentary on one of the chapters of the Qurán, the Súra of Joseph.

The Bábi historian[1] says of this work that in it "he addressed himself to that person unseen, from whom he received help and grace, sought for aid in the arrangement of his preliminaries, and craved the sacrifice of life in the way of love. Amongst others is this sentence, '*O residue of God,*[2] *I am wholly sacrificed to Thee;*

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[1] و در نخستین کتابی که در تفسیر سورهٔ یوسف مرقوم نموده در جمیع مواضع ان خطابهائی بان شخص غائب که از او مُستفید و مُستفیض بوده نموده و استمداد در تمهید مبادی خویش جسته و تمنّای فدای جان در سبیل محبتش نموده از جمله این عبارت است یا بقیّة اللّٰه قد فدیت بکلی لك و رضیتُ السّب فی سبیلك و ما تمنّیت الّا القتل فی محبتك و کفی با للّٰه العلی معصماً قدیماً *

Episode of the Báb, p. 4.

[2] The expression, residue (or remnant) of God—Baqíyat Ulláh—is a very peculiar one. It is connected with a curious belief of the Shí'ahs, *viz.*: that God allowed some part or fraction of Himself, in some way or other, to be connected with the Imám. As soon then as Mírzá 'Ali Muḥammad was raised by his followers to the dignity of the Báb, or as soon as the idea became present to his own mind, he could address the Imám as the Baqíyat Ulláh, and set forth his complete devotion to him. His followers then gave him the titles of the servant of Baqíyat Ulláh, the mystery of Baqíyat Ulláh, the friend of Baqíyat Ulláh. Gradually, as, during his imprisonment, he became more and more invisible to his followers, and when he became credited with the power of working miracles and more or less a mythical being, he was no longer called the servant, or the mystery, or the friend of Baqíyat Ulláh, but himself was esteemed to be the Baqíyat Ulláh—the true Imám so long looked for,

I am content with curses in Thy way, I crave nought but to be slain in Thy love, and God the Supreme sufficeth as an eternal protection."

He also wrote a commentary on other parts of the Qurán, and some prayers. These writings he called ashá'if-i-ilhámíyah, or inspired pages and kalám-i-fiṭra, or word of conscience; but he made no claim to the kind of inspiration called waḥí, that is, the revelation brought by an angel or in some mechanical way.[1] He believed his meditations to be divinely inspired, but the inspiration was subjective.[2]

He now began to attract general attention. Some persons were highly displeased, others were drawn towards him. Thus it came to pass that on the 23rd of May, 1844, when he was about twenty-four years of age, Mírzá 'Ali Muḥammad more definitely formulated his views and announced himself as a duly authorised teacher and guide. He then assumed the name of the Báb. He said, "Whosoever wishes to approach the Lord his God and to know the true way that leads to Him ought to do it through me." Of this period of his career Mírzá Káẓim Beg says: "The number of his adherents increased, day by day, and when they demanded that he, like the ancient prophets, should give them a sign, in proof of his mission, he relied on this that he could write a thousand inspired lines in one day. By his peculiarities and by

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Mírzá Káẓim Beg says that under the term 'mystery' they understood one who shared the secrets of the Imám. "The name Sirr-Ulláh, or Mystery of God, was given to 'Alí, as to one who knew the secrets of divine revelation; and, so in its new application, the title Sirr-i-Baqíyat Ulláh, now a name of the Báb, would mean the one who knew all that was in the mind of the concealed Imám, who himself was the remnant (or residue) of God." *Journal Asiatique*, 1866, vol. viii. p. 468.

1 دعوی وحی فرشته نداشت *Episode of the Báb*, p. 4.

2 Count Gobineau says:—"Dans le premier de ces livres, il était pieux et mystique: dans le second, la polemique et la dialectique tenaient une grande place, et les auditeurs remarquaient avec étonnement qu'il découvrait, dans le chapitre du Livre de Dieu qu'il avait choisi, des sens nouveaux dont personne ne s'était avisé jusqu'alors, et qu'il en tirait surtout des doctrines et des enseignements complètement inattendus" *Les religions et les philosophies dans L'Asia Centrale*, p. 147.

his austere life, even when still at Kerbelá, he was called the 'Illuminated'. When the inhabitants of Shíráz returned from Kerbelá, they used to say :—"Have you heard of our Seyyid 'Alí Muḥammad? He is no longer as we are, he has become famous and has merited the name of the 'Chosen of God'. All people, small and great, flock around him." He also adds that dreamers and mystics, and evil disposed persons from self-interest joined him. No doubt some did so from mixed motives; but Mr. E. G. Browne seems to me to give the fairest account. He divides the Báb's first adherents into several classes. Firstly, rigorous and pious Muḥammadans who really believed that the signs of the twelfth Imám were fulfilled in him; secondly, all those who desired reform in Persia and thought that Bábíism would conduce to that end; thirdly, the mystics who considered Bábíism to be similar to their own pantheistic system; fourthly, those who were drawn by the personal influence and character of the Báb.[1]

On his return from Kerbelá he was heartily welcomed. Until then, it is said, he looked upon himself only as one who had made some progress in the ṭáríqat, or the divine way; but he soon began to consider himself a master, appointed by heaven to regenerate his country. It was now that Mullá Ḥusain cast in his lot with the Báb. This period is known as that of the ẓahúr, or manifestation.

There is some difference of opinion as to what he exactly meant by the title of Báb which he assumed. Mírzá Káẓim Beg says: "I do not know whether he was acquainted with the words of Christ, 'I am the door,' but he doubtless knew that Muḥammad had said :—'I am the city of knowledge and 'Alí is the gate of that city.'"[2] Another writer says :—"He announced that he was the 'Gate,' by which alone any one can attain to the knowledge of God." A Muḥammadan historian, an enemy of the Báb, says that "the Báb, having gathered some Shaikhís together, said :—'I am the 'Gate' of God. Whosoever desires to come to God, and

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1 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1889, p. 504.

2 *Journal Asiatique*, 1866, p. 343.

to know the religion of God cannot do so till he sees me and receives permission from me.'" The most accurate account is this:—"He (Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad) now gave out that, as 'Alí had been the 'Gate,' by which men entered the city of the Prophet's knowledge, even so he was the 'Gate' through which men might attain to the knowledge of the twelfth Imám."[1] His followers have now, however, discarded that name, and he is known amongst the Bábís by several titles, such as Ḥazrat, or His Highness; Ḥazrat-i-nuqṭah-i-beyán, or His Highness the point of Revelation; Ḥazrat-i-nuqṭah-i-úlá, or His Highness the First point; Ḥazrat-i-rabbi ala'ala, or His Highness my Lord the Supreme. More recently the Behá'ís call him Ḥazrat-i-mubashshir, or His Highness the Evangelist[2] Gobineau, a good authority on the subject, says:—"Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí said that he was not the Báb in the sense in which they (his followers) had believed and as he himself had thought, that is to say, the 'Gate' of the knowledge of truth; but that he was the Point, or the originator of truth, a divine appearance, a powerful manifestation,"[3] and so goes on to show that the title Báb was set free and could henceforth reward the pious devotion of one of the Báb's followers. As a matter of fact, it was bestowed on Mullá Ḥusain, who is sometimes called His Excellency, the Gate of the Gate, Janáb-i-Bábu'l Báb.[4] Having made this digression we may now continue the history of this remarkable man.

The next step seems to have been the pilgrimage to Mecca in November 1844, where he stayed a short time and completed all the rites incumbent on pilgrims. His stay in Mecca does not seem to have confirmed his faith in Islám, from which he was

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1 Watson's *History of Persia*, p. 348.

2 حضرت نقطهٔ بیان * حضرت نقطه اولی

حضرت ربّی الاعلی * حضرت مبشّر

3 *Episode of the Báb*, p. 230.

4 جنابِ باب الباب

now becoming detached.[1] He returned early in the following year to Bushire. He soon become the centre of attraction. His personal charms and his attractive manners drew many people to him. The orthodox were pleased with the apparent veneration he held for the Prophet and the Imáms, whilst his more ardent companions rejoiced at the liberality of his views. The Mullás and others, however, became excited about him. They induced Ḥusain Khán, the Governor of Fárs, to give orders that some of his followers should be beaten. A little later on in the year the Báb was brought as a prisoner to Shíráz. The impression he produced then was very great amongst the literary and religious classes. Whenever he appeared in the Mosque they listened to him in silence. In his public discourses he did not now attack the foundations of Islám, but was unsparing in his rebukes of the Mullás. His general theme was the sad and distressed state of men generally. Obscure allusions in his speeches awakened an interest amongst the curious, and delighted those who were in part initiated into his teaching.[2] The Mullás of Shíráz appointed their ablest men to dispute with him, with the result that the enthusiasm regarding him grew to a great extent. He taught openly in the Colleges and in the Mosques, but his special followers received instruction in his own house. Mírza Káẓim Beg thus describes one of these famous disputations.—"The 'Ulamá assembled. The Báb appeared in the midst of them and spoke with courage and enthusiasm. The Governor, Ḥusain Khán, who had assumed the character and position of a learner, humbly suggested that the Báb should demonstrate that his doctrines

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[1] This is the view taken by Gobineau, but Káẓim Beg says that it was "après avoir semé bon gré mal gré quelques mauvais grains dans cette terre de Chiraz si fertile en préjugés et en superstitions" that he went to Mecca. So also a Bábi writer who says:—"When the Báb had laid the foundation of such an edifice, he, according to his promise, set out for Mecca." Anyhow his stay in Mecca did not bring him back to orthodoxy. See a *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 251.

[2] *Les religions et les philosophies dans L'Asia Centrale* by Count Gobineau, p. 148.

were superior to those of Muhammad. The Báb answered boldly, 'Take my Qurán, compare it with that of your prophet, and you will be convinced that my religion is the preferable one.' On hearing these words, the Governor changed his attitude and called for the executioner to whom he pointed out the prisoner. The Báb was then bound and beaten."

A Bábí historian[1] gives fuller details. He says that the matter acquired such importance that the reigning Shah sent one of the most learned Doctors of the age, Seyyid Yahyá, to interview the Báb and to report the result. He held three long conferences with him, but the result was that he was so charmed with the Báb that he accepted him as a leader and admitted all his claims. About this time, Mullá Muhammad 'Alí, a leading teacher, sent a person to Shíráz to ascertain the facts of the case. This messenger returned with some of the Báb's writings, which so impressed Mullá Muhammad 'Alí that he too became a follower of the Báb. When he next met his pupils in his lecture room he gathered up his books, and said:—"The season of spring and wine has arrived. Search for knowledge after reaching the known is culpable." Then he urged all his disciples to become Bábís, and sent to the Báb a statement of his own adherence to his teaching. The Mullás complained to the Shah, and Mullá Muhammad 'Alí was summoned to Teherán; but he was able to meet successfully all his opponents in debate and nothing came of this action.

The cause of the Báb was now very much strengthened by the support of such famous teachers, who were most earnest and active in propagating the new faith. The orthodox Mullás soon perceived that they must attack the Báb direct, and so they urged the Governor of Fars, Husain Khán, to take more decisive action, saying:—"If thou desirest the extinction of this fire, or seekest a firm stopper for this rent and disruption, an immediate cure and decisive remedy is to kill the Báb."

An attack was made on the house in which the Báb lived; but,

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[1] *Episode of the Báb* p. 7.

apparently with the connivance of those who had charge of him, he was allowed to make his escape and to proceed to Isfahán. This event took place about March 1846. Before his arrival at Isfahán he wrote a letter to the Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla, the Governor of the Province, asking for a suitable lodging. The Governor, Minúchihr Khán, afforded him protection and showed him hospitality. At first, the 'Ulamá paid the Báb much respect; but soon began to be alarmed at his growing influence with the Governor, by whom the learned doctors of Islám were invited to a public discussion with the Báb. After accepting the proposal, they withdrew, saying:—"If there be doubt in the matter there is need of assembly and discussion; but as this person's disagreement with the most luminous Law is clearer than the sun, therefore the best possible thing is to put in practice the sentence of the Law."[1] They thus refused to meet him and, instead of doing so, signed a declaration to the effect that they were quite convinced of the heretical character of his doctrines. This very much displeased Minúchihr Khán, the Governor, who seems to have been a firm friend to the Báb. After his death in 1847, the Báb was removed to the castle of Mákú, a fortress on the north-west frontier, though his confinement was not at first a rigorous one. His followers were allowed free intercourse with him, and continual correspondence went on between the Báb and his principal agents. The Báb at this time wrote many religious books, and his influence seemed to be on the increase. After the insurrection of Mázandarán it was determined to place him in stricter confinement, and so he was removed to the citadel of Chirík, near Urumiyyé, of which place Yaḥya Khán was the Governor. He treated the Báb with deference and respect. It was with difficulty that correspondence was now carried on, but letters were passed in by means of some very clever stratagems. According to some accounts he was allowed to address the people, and

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[1] گر در امر اشتباهی باشد احتیاج باجتماع و سوال و جواب است ولی چون مخالفت این شخص بشرع انور اظهر از افتاب است پس اجرآ حکم شرع عین صواب است *

Maqálah-i-Shakhsi Saiyaḥ.

one eye-witness states that he saw the balcony from which the Báb preached, that the concourse of people was very great, and that they listened with attention to the words of the new Qurán. He prayed and worked without ceasing. All who approached him, even the soldiers who guarded him, were influenced by his calm manner and his attractive conversation. The Báb was confined at Chiríḳ about two and a half years, and, it is said, there declared himself to be the Qá'ím, or the Imám Mahdi.

Soon after his arrival at Chiríḳ he was brought to Tabríz to undergo his first examination. A full account of this is given by the Muḥammadan historians, but as they represent him as utterly foolish and ignorant,[1] it is more than probable that it did not take place as narrated. Mírzá Káẓim Beg says that the accounts given of the interview were most contradictory, and he does not give any credence to the more absurd ones. The Bábí account of it is that the Báb advanced the claim of Mahdí-hood, on which a great tumult arose, and that, in general, his defence was a success. This much is certain that he was severely beaten and sent back to confinement in Chiríḳ. Then we are told that "learned divines and esteemed lawyers who were possessed of power and influence, girt up the loins of endeavour for the eradication and suppression of this sect." They maintained that the Báb and his followers were not only in error, but were also hurtful to Church and State. The King, Muḥammad Sháh, however, declined to interfere, and declared that so long as the public peace was not disturbed the Government would not further interfere with him.

At this time the Báb's followers were most active in spreading his doctrines throughout the land. It was now that his most famous convert was made. This was a woman called Qurratu'l-'Ayn (Lustre of the Eye.) The course of the narrative may well be interrupted in order to give a brief account of so great and distinguished a woman.

She was the daughter of Ḥáji Mullá Muḥammad Ṣáliḥ, a

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[1] A full account is given in the *Episode of the Báb*, pp. 277-290: also in the *New History of the Báb*, pp. 285-291.

learned resident of Kazvín. She was an excellent Arabic scholar and was so intelligent that she could follow the most subtle discussions. Her acquaintance with the commentaries on the Qurán and with the Traditions was very extensive.[1] She was acquainted with Ḥájí Seyyid Káẓim, the Shaikhí leader, and his famous disciple Mullá Ḥusain. When the latter set out for Shíráz Qurratu'l-'Ayn corresponded with him and begged him to let her know when he had found the spiritual teacher he was in search of. Mullá Ḥusain showed her letter to the Báb, who was much interested in it. For a while she lived at Kerbelá and gave addresses to the Shaikhís. This displeased the governor of the place and she retired to Baghdád. Again she was ordered to change her place of residence. She then visited Kirmánsháh and Hamadán, everywhere preaching and making converts to the Bábí faith. Some of the Bábís looked with disfavour on this preaching by a woman; but the Báb supported her, applauded her zeal, and bestowed on her the title of Jenáb-i-Ṭáhira, or Her Excellency the Pure. From that time all acknowledged her position. Her father now brought her back to her home at Kazvín, but she was not happy there, as her friends and relatives were all bitterly opposed to the Shaikhís and the Bábís. Her uncle, who showed much hatred of the Bábis, was now assassinated, and Qurratu'l-'Ayn was unjustly charged with being privy to the deed. This rendered her further stay in Kazvín impossible, and she left for a place called Núr, where she remained until the suppression by the Government of the Mázandarán insurrection. She was then made a prisoner and sent to Teherán. On her arrival she was taken before the Sháh who said:—"I like her looks, leave her and let her be."[2] She was then kept in prison, though her confinement does not appear to have been very rigorous, for she had occasional intercourse with different Bábis and her life was in no danger

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[1] *Les religions et les philosophies dans L'Asia Centrale* by Count Gobineau, p. 168.

[2] از هیئتش خوشم می آید بگذار باشد

until the attempt to assassinate the Sháh was made, when the mere fact of being a Bábí was sufficient to imperil life. Even there her marvellous beauty, enthusiasm and eloquence won for her the regard of her custodian, Maḥmúd Khán. He did all he could, consistent with his duty, to soften the rigours of captivity and held out hopes for the future. Her cheerfulness when any day the sentence of death might be passed astonished the attendants. One morning Maḥmúd Khán returned from Court, saying that he had brought good news. He told Qurratu'-l-'Ayn that she was to appear before her judges, and it was understood that, if she denied that she was a Bábí, she would be left alone, on condition that she lived quietly and ceased to teach. She indignantly replied that she would do no such thing and prophesied his own down-fall. Strange to say this came true for a few years after Maḥmúd Khán was executed by the order of the Sháh. This refusal to deny her faith in the Báb was strong in her, and she did so refuse when confronted with her judges. They could not save her, and so she was put to death in the massacre at Teherán which followed on the attempt to kill the Sháh in 1852. Various accounts are given of the manner of her death. Gobineau says she was burned and then strangled: others that she was strangled[1] and then cast into a well. Her death was painful, and she was as brave in death as she had been in life. Qurratu'-l-'Ayn was the most remarkable of the Báb's disciples. She was a person of marvellous beauty, possessed of high intellectual gifts, eloquent, devoted and fearless. She threw her whole soul into the cause she advocated, and her martyrdom sheds a halo of glory round her short and active career.

A Bábí historian says:—" Such fame did she acquire that most people who were scholars or mystics sought to hear her speak, and were eager to become acquainted with her powers of speculation and deduction. She wrested pre-eminence from

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1 " As she would not suffer them to remove the veil from her face (though they repeatedly sought to do so), they applied the bow-string over her veil and thus compassed her martyrdom. Then they cast her holy body into a well in the garden." *Táríkh-i-Jadíd*, p. 284.

stalwart men, and continued to strain the feet of steadfastness, until she yielded up her life at the sentence of the mighty doctors in Teherán." Mírzá Káẓim Beg, a most sober writer, waxes eloquent over the charms of Qurratu'-l-'Ayn. Thus:— "This woman had an influence over her hearers, wholly spiritual. She knew how to inspire them with perfect confidence. She was well educated and very beautiful. Everything retired before her. She raised the veil[1] which covered her face, not to set at nought the laws of chastity and modesty, so deeply graven on the tables of the orthodox law and in popular prejudice, but much rather in order to give by her look more force to the inspired words she spoke. Her speeches stigmatized that gross tyranny which for so many centuries had imprisoned liberty. She preached not, as some have said, to abolish the laws of modesty, but to sustain the cause of liberty. The eloquent words which fell from her mouth captivated the hearts of her hearers, who became enthusiastic in her praise."

Some of her poems breathe the spirit of Ṣúfíism and show how deeply her mind was imbued with mystic lore. This is far more apparent in the original than in any translation of them. The following lines are from a translation by Mr. Browne.

"Though with sword in hand my Darling stand, with intent to slay, though I sinless be.

If it pleases him, this tyrant's whim, I am well content with his tyranny.

The country of 'I' and 'We' forsake; thy home in annihilation make.

Since fearing not this step to take, thou shalt gain the highest felicity."

With this may be compared a verse of a Ṣúfi poet.

چو كسي طريق مرا رود * كنمش ندا كه خبر شود
كه هرانكه عاشق من شود * نرهد ز محنت و ابتلا

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[1] Some Bábís say she did not do this; but Count Gobineau says:—"elle s'éleva non seulement contre la polygamie, mais contre l'usage du voile." p. 168.

Her romantic career, her marvellous[1] power, and her tragic end will continue to give for a long while to come strength to the Bábí cause, and the spirit of endurance to its followers.

In the year 1848, Náṣiru'd-dín Sháh, the late ruler of Persia, was crowned at Teherán, and the position of the Bábís became more critical. The Prime Minister was Mírzá Taqí Khán, who, though favourably spoken of by some historians, was distinguished by great hatred of the Báb and the Bábís, whom he persecuted with much cruelty. A civil war now raged, and on both sides much ferocity was shown; but the power of the Bábís was broken by the fall of Shaikh Tabarsí and the slaughter of the Bábí garrison in 1849. The victory of the royal troops was sometimes gained by base acts of treachery. Mírzá Káẓim Beg gives an instance. He says:—"Prince Mahdí Kulí Mírzá, the commander of the royal forces, sent assurances of safety to the Bábí leaders who accepted his invitation to the camp, where they were received with much attention and courtesy. This was what the Prince desired, and when he saw that his guests were at their ease and had set aside their weapons, he gave a signal, and the unsuspecting Bábís were at once seized and put to the most cruel tortures. Some three hundred men were smeared with naphtha and then

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[1] The following sonnet on Qurratu'-l-'Ayn brings out some characteristic aspects of her influence:—

> Qurratu'-l-'Ayn! not famous far beyond
> Her native shore. Not many bards have sung
> Her praises, who, her enemies among,
> Wielding her beauty as a magic wand,
> Strove for the cause of him who had proclaimed
> For poor down-trodden womanhood the right
> Of freedom. Lifting high her beacon light
> Of truth, she went unveiled and unashamed.
> A woman, in the land where women live
> And weep and die secluded and unknown,
> She broke the bonds of custom, and to give
> The Báb her aid, she dared the world alone,
> Only to fail: death closed the unequal strife,
> And Persia blindly wrecked a noble life.

burnt alive." The Bábí historian's version of it is that the Prince swore on the Qurán thus:—"You shall not be molested, return to your own places." As they were famished and in great distress they accepted the offer, came to the camp, and whilst engaged in eating were suddenly attacked by the soldiers.

This kind of treachery was resorted to more than once; but no amount of hostile repression and bitter persecution could restrain the ardour of the Bábí teachers, or the devotion of their followers. Mírzá Taqí Khán now perceived that he must get the Báb put out of the way, and so he sent an order to his brother to this effect:—"Obtain a formal and explicit sentence from the learned doctors at Tabríz, who are the firm supporters of the Church of Ja'far (*i.e.*, the 6th Imám), and the impregnable stronghold of the Shí'ah faith. Summon the Christian regiment of Urúmiyya, suspend the Báb before all the people and give orders for the people to fire a volley."

Mirzà Ḥusain Khán summoned the chief of the farráshes and gave him his instructions. On the following day, the Báb and a young man named Aká Muḥammad 'Alí, a youthful Bábí, who belonged to a noble family of Tabríz, were delivered up, after having been duly condemned by the Mullás, to the Colonel of the Christian regiment already named. On the previous evening, the Báb said to his followers:—'To-morrow they will martyr me with boundless shame and dishonour. Let one of you now arise and slay me, so that I may not have to suffer all this dishonour and humiliation from the adversaries, for it is pleasanter for me to be slain by the hands of friends than by the hands of enemies."[1] All, with great expressions of sorrow began to excuse themselves, except Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí, who seemed as if about to obey the command. His comrades, however, prevented him, saying: "Such boldness and rashness is not the characteristic of true service." For the following account of what really transpired I am indebted to Mírzá Káẓim Beg.[2]

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1 *New History of the Báb*, p. 298.

2 *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, tome vii. p. 377. The *New History of the Báb* also has a full account, pp. 297-312.

The roads which led to the court of the Barracks were crowded with people. At a military execution in Persia, the condemned are tied together with their backs turned towards the firing party. Áká Muḥammad 'Alí begged to be allowed to turn his face towards the people, and then, in a loud, but calm voice, he began to say some prayers which had been composed by the master. The Báb kept perfectly silent. His pale and beautiful face surrounded by a black beard, his white and delicate hands, his figure and distinguished manner, everything in his person and in his dress aroused the sympathy and compassion of the spectators. The Governor and the Mullás tried to keep this in check by preaching loudly against the Bábí doctrines, exaggerating the evils of the system. They recounted in a pathetic manner the end of those who had met their death at the hands of the Bábís; still, so strong was the feeling aroused by the self-sacrifice of Áká Muḥammad 'Alí and the dignity of the Báb that it required the utmost effort of the Mullás to suppress it. The first volley fired simply severed the cords by which the prisoners were fastened to the post. A second volley proved effectual. The crowd then dispersed in silence, but many men carried in their hearts the germs of hostility towards the Government. The execution of the Báb (A. H. 1266) does not seem to have been justified on political grounds, for as Gobineau says, though "The Bábí chiefs had given trouble to the state, the Báb himself had done nothing of the kind and no proof was brought forward that he had encouraged his disciples in their line of conduct."[1] A Bábí historian gives a miraculous turn to the failure of the first volley that was fired at the execution. He says:—"An iron nail was hammered into the middle of the stair-case of the very cell wherein they were imprisoned, and two ropes were hung down. By one rope Áká Muḥammad 'Ali was suspended and by the other the Báb, both being firmly bound in such wise that the head of the young man was on the Báb's breast. From the fire of the volleys a mighty smoke was produced. When the smoke cleared away they saw that

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[1] *Les religions et les philosophies dans L'Asia Centrale*, p. 262.

young man standing with the Báb, who has seated by the side of his amanuensis, Áká Seyyid Ḥusain, in the very cell from the staircase of which they had been suspended." The bodies were finally cast out of the city, near the moat, to be devoured by dogs and jackals; but on the second night were conveyed away by the Bábís who by bribes, or the influence of powerful friends, obtained possession of them. "They were wrapped in white silk, placed in one coffin, and sent to Teherán, where by order of Mírzá Yaḥyá (Subh-i-Ezel), who, though but twenty years old, had been chosen to succeed the Báb, they were deposited in a little shrine called Imám-zádé-i-Ma'súm. Here they remained for seventeen or eighteen years, till the schism originated by Behá deprived his half-brother Ezel of the supremacy in the Bábí church which he had hitherto enjoyed, when they were romoved by the Behá'ís, to whom alone is now known the last resting place of the Martyrs of Tabríz."[1]

The chief of the religion was dead and, according to the calculations of Mírzá Taqi Khán, the Prime Minister, peace would now be soon established and there would be no more trouble from the Bábís; but, as Count Gobineau points out,[2] his political sagacity was entirely at fault for the death of the Báb only increased the movement and fawned the ardour of his followers.

Great pressure had been brought to bear on Áká Muḥammad 'Alí by his relatives to make him recant, but he was imbued with devotion to his master. He wrote a very touching letter in reply to an affectionate appeal from his brother, urging him to give up the Báb, to save his life and to return to his family. This is the letter.

"He is the Compassionate.

O thou who art my Qibla! My condition, thanks to God, has no fault, and "to every difficulty succeedeth ease." You have

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[1] *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 64.

[2] *Les religions et les philosophies dans L'Asia Centrale* by Count Gobineau, p. 271.

written that this matter has no end. What matter, then, has any end? We, at least, have no discontent in this matter: nay, rather, we are unable sufficiently to express our thanks for this favour. The end of this matter is to be slain in the way of God, and O! what happiness is this. The will of God will come to pass with regard to his servants, neither can human plans avert the divine decree. O thou who art my Qibla, the end of the world is death. If the appointed fate which God hath decreed overtake me, then God is the guardian of my family, and thou art mine executor; behave in such wise as is pleasing to God, and pardon whatever has proceeded from me which may seem lacking in courtesy, or contrary to the respect due from juniors: and seek pardon for me from all those of my household and commit me to God. God is my patron and how good is He as a Guardian!"

This letter is a remarkable witness to the power which the Báb had over his disciples, a power which could lead this youth, with so promising a future before him, to give up home and life, to face death and its terrors rather than be separated from the Master he loved so truly. The original letter is given in a foot-note.[1]

The Báb does not appear to have been a political agitator;

هو العطوف

[1] قبله گاها - احوالم بحمد الله عیب ندارد و - لکلّ عسر یسر - اینکه نوشته بودید که این کار عاقبت ندارد پس چکار عاقبت دارد باری ما که درین کار نا رضامندی نداریم بلکه شکر این نعمت را نمی توانم بجا بیاورم - منتهای این امر کشته شدن است در راه خدا و این زهی سعادتست - قضای خداوند بر بندگان خود جاری خواهد شد - تدبیر تقدیر را بر نمی گرداند - ماشاء الله لا قوّة الّا بالله - قبله گاها آخر دنیا مرگست - کل نفس ذائقة الموت - اجل محتوم که خداوند عزّ و جلّ مقدّر فرموده اگر مرا درك کرد پس خداوند خلیفهٔ من است بر عیال من و توئی وصیّ من هر طور که موافق رضای الهی است رفتار فرمائید و هرچه که بی ادبی و خلاف مراسم کوچکی نسبت بایشان صادر شده عفو فرمائید و طلب حلّیت از همهٔ اهل خانه از برای من نمائید و مرا بخدا بسپارید - حسبی الله و نعم الوکیل - انتهی

Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, October 1889, p. 992.

certainly politics had nothing to do with the inception of the movement. He wished to effect religious reform, not to deal with affairs of the State, or to injure the status of the reigning family. He was absorbed in spiritual meditations and in mystical contemplations and was not a political fanatic. But when his followers found that the Government would not help forward reforms and would not move from the orthodox Shí'ah standpoint, they gave to the Bábí movement a political turn which it had not previously possessed. The Báb himself remained passive, but most of the chief men amongst his disciples accepted this new departure. Then after the death of the Báb instead of becoming, as was expected by the Government, despondent and discouraged, they became exasperated and stern. The last restraints were now removed and they did not hesitate to count themselves enemies of the Sháh and his government.

It may be well at this point to give a summary of the character of the Báb, as pourtrayed by Mírzá Káẓim Beg, always remembering that the critic, though eminently fair, does not believe in the claims of the Báb.

"He had some characteristics truly great and noble and was a man of firm and settled convictions. His moral character was high, and he aimed in his preaching to bring all his countrymen into a community, united by intellectual and moral ties. He spoke with much earnestness on the necessity for a religious and social reform in Persia, the cessation of religious persecution, and the amelioration of the lot of women. It is said that much of what he preached on these points had an esoteric meaning, known only to his disciples; but whether that is the case or not, the veneration they felt for him was profound, and there can be no doubt that the teaching of the Báb was in the direction of freedom and that he personally was in favour of reform." Mírzá Káẓim Beg sums up his reflections thus: "We neither consider him an adventurer nor a fanatic, but an eminently moral man, a dreamer brought up in the school of the Shaikhís and possessing some touch of

Christianity. We regard him also as a man troubled by the direct influence of some of his devoted and ambitious disciples. In any case, we believe that the appearance of the Báb will be more or less of use in time to the cause of civilization in Persia."[1]

The next historical event of importance is the attempt on August 15th, 1852,[2] to assassinate Náṣiru'd-din Shah. It does not appear to have been an act determined on by any large number of the Bábí leaders, but to have arisen from a spirit of revenge in a few devoted followers of the Báb. If such be the case, the frightful persecutions which followed are utterly injustifiable, even from an oriental standpoint. The accounts differ as to the number of Bábís engaged in this. Some say that there were twelve conspirators, others say that there were seven. In any case only three actually took part in the attack on the Shah. These were Mullá Fathu'lláh of Kum, Ṣádiq of Zanján, and Mírzá Muḥammad of Níríz. They got themselves engaged as gardeners in a country palace, to which the Shah used to resort. One day in the garden he was eating some fresh water melons and seeing three gardeners, looking wearied with heat and work, sent them some of the fruit. This kind act made the conspirators hesitate in the carrying out of their commission. However, in a few days, the effect of the Shah's kindness passed away and, as he was out riding one day, they approached him, under the pretence of having a petition to offer, and then one of them fired, it is said, three times, the last shot slightly wounding the Shah. The escort then came up, and Ṣádiq, one of the assassins, was killed on the spot and the other two were arrested.

The Shah was really in a very great fright, but the Musulmán historians give a different account. The following is a very good specimen of oriental hyperbole and flattery:—"The dust of perturbation settled not on the skirt of the patience and self-control of the king, whose elemental material, God the Creator had

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1 *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, tome vii. p. 384.

2 A. H. 1268.

leavened with the liver of the lion, the heart of Ardashír, the ardour of Shápúr, and the majesty of Taimúr. Nor did the pellucid stream of his mind become troubled by the foulness and filth of these events. Neither did he urge his horse to leap aside, nor did he utter a word indicative of alarm or consternation. He kept his place on the poplar-wood saddle like some mountain of massive rocks, and notwithstanding that wound, turned not aside in any direction, and carried not his hand to his hurt, so that those present in his escort knew not that any hurt had befallen the king, or that he had suffered any wound."

At the examinations before the Council of Ministers, the two arrested Bábís, though most severely tortured, declared that they had no accomplices, that they could not hesitate to obey the sacred orders of their chiefs who were no longer in Persia. They said:—"you can torture us till the day of judgment, we shall say no more."

The Bábís attribute the failure of the plot to the fact that the impetuosity of the three conspirators led them on to the attack before the others were ready. The most stringent measures were at once taken against the Bábís. The police at Teherán searched everywhere for them and succeeded in arresting, according to one account, forty, and, according to Mírzá Káẓim Beg, seventy persons. Most of these who were arrested were condemned to death, whether any proof could be given of their complicity in the plot or not. It was quite enough to be known as a Bábí. A great fear fell upon those in authority, and it was determinated to make a terrible example. The principal malefactors, says Mírzá Káẓim Beg, "were tortured in the most odious manner, with an unheard of refinement of cruelty." An English traveller says[1]:—"Tow steeped in oil was inserted between their fingers and behind their shoulder blades, leaving portions hanging down which were lighted, and in this condition the unhappy wretches were led, as long as they could walk, through the principal streets of the capital. A furious

[1] *Diary of a Journey from London to Persepolis,* by John Ussher, p. 628.

proscription followed. No time was lost between apprehension and execution, death was the only punishment known, the headless bodies lay in the streets for days, the terrified relatives fearing to give them burial, and the dogs fought and growled over the corpses in the deserted thoroughfares."

A most ingenious plan was adopted to avert from the Shah and his Ministers, any special and definite hatred of the Bábís and to make the subjects of a possible retaliation on their part as varied as possible. The prisoners were divided amongst[1] the different classes of the community who were made responsible for the execution of the victims allotted to them.[2] They were thus informed that their loyalty would be above suspicion. Another expected result was that, owing to the retaliation to which they would be exposed, they would be permanently alienated from the Bábí movement and personally interested in its entire suppression. Some of the classes thus made to take part in the executions were the 'Ulamá, the Princes, the Employes of the foreign office, the Nobles, the Mír-i-Akhúr, or Master of the Horse and his assistants; the Sar-kishík or the Captain of the Guard; and the Yúz-Báshís, or Centurions; the Artillerymen, the General and Officers, the Professors and Students, the Merchants, the City people, and so on.

The details are sickening. One illustration will be enough. Ḥájí Sulaimán Khán and Káẓim of Níríz were first wounded in many parts of their bodies, and in these wounds lighted candles were placed. They were then paraded through the streets and bazaars, accompanied by musicians, whilst the spectators threw dust and ashes on them. At last they were sawn asunder. Sulaimán bore these tortures most heroically and during them testified to the joy he felt at suffering martyrdom for the cause of the Báb.

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1 Curzon's *Persia.* vol. I, p. 402.

2 This reminds us of what is said of Queen Joan of Naples, who, when she strangled her husband, called out to her fellow-conspirators, 'Gentlemen you must all take hold of the rope.' *Quarterly Review*, No. 353, p. 290.

He recited the following verses:

> "I have returned! I have returned! I have come by the way of Shíráz!
>
> I have come with winsome airs and graces! Such is the lover's madness." [1]

"Why do you not dance," said the executioners, "since you find death so pleasant?" "Dance," said Sulaimán <u>Kh</u>án,

> "In one hand the wine cup, in one hand the tresses of the friend.
> Such a dance in the midst of the marked place is my desire."

Renan speaks of the massacre thus:—"The day of the great slaughter of the Bábís in Teheran was, perhaps, a day unparalleled in the history of the world." [2] Referring to the same event, Count Gobineau says [3]:—"Children and women with lighted candles stuck into the wounds were driven along by whips, and as they went along they sang, 'We came from God, to Him we return.' When the children expired, as many did, the executioners threw the corpses beneath the feet of their fathers. Life was offered if they would recant. An executioner told one father that, if he did not recant, his two sons, the elder of whom was fourteen years old, should be slain on his breast. The father lying down said that he was ready, and the elder boy claimed by right of birth to be the first to have his throat cut. At last, night fell on a mass of shapeless flesh, and the dogs of the suburbs came in troops to the place."

So ended one important period in the history of the Bábís. This day made more secret followers of the Báb than all his preaching had done, for the impression produced upon the people by the calmness and patience of the Martyrs was profound and lasting. [4]

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1 This is the original Persian:—

باز آمدم باز آمدم از راه شیراز آمدم * با عشوه ناز آمدم هذا جنون العاشق

2 *Les Apôtres*, p. 378.

3 *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, p. 302.

4 Ibid, p. 303.

There has been since this time no formal outbreak of Bábí revenge, nor has there been any persecution like it. Even this altogether failed of its purpose, for it gave to the movement a vigour and vitality which otherwise it might have lacked.[1] It is said that half a million Persians are Bábís, but the Hon'ble G. Curzon considers the total to be nearer one million. He says[2]:— "They are to be found in every walk of life, from the ministers and nobles of the Court to the scavenger or the groom, not the least arena of their activity being the Musalmán priesthood itself. It will have been noticed that the movement was initiated by Seyyids, Ḥájís and Mullás." Whilst it is true that there has been no persecution so terrible as the one in 1852, yet now and again the hostility of the 'Ulamá shows itself. In 1878, 1888, and in 1889 Bábís were put to death.[3] The heroism and the devotion of the Bábís is something very wonderful. It is said that there is only one instance of a Bàbí's having recanted under pressure. He, however, he returned again to his faith, and was afterwards put to death for his renewed devotion to the Báb.

After the death of the Báb, the chief interest in the movement circles round Mírzá Yaḥyá and his half-brother Behá'ulláh, who became the respective leaders of the two sects, into which the Bábís are now divided—the Ezelís and the Behá'ís.

Before proceeding to give an account of the Bábí doctrines, we may briefly continue the narrative of events. There seems no doubt that the Báb in the year 1849 nominated the former,

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[1] En très peu d'années, c'est-a-dire de 1847 à 1852 cette religion s'est répandue dans presque toute la Perse et y compte des zélateurs innombrables..........Et ce n'est point une populace ignorante qui s'est surtout émue ; ce sont des membres éminents du clergé ; ce sont des gens riches et instruits, des femmes appartenant à des familles importantes ; ce sont, enfin, après les musulmans, des philosophes, des soufys en grand nombre, beaucoup de juifs, qui ont été conquis tout à coup par la nouvelle révélation. *Les religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, p 308.

[2] *Persia*, Vol. I, p. 499.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 500.

whom he named Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel (morning of eternity), as his successor, and that for a short time he really held an undisputed position as head of the Bábí church. His claim to that office is based on a document, said to have been written by the Báb, of which the following is a translation[1] by Mr. E. G. Browne:—

"God is most great with the utmost greatness.

This is a letter on the part of God, the Protector, the self-Existent.

To God, the Protector, the self-Existent.

Say, 'All originate from God.'

Say, 'All return to God.'

This is a letter from 'Ali before Nabil[2] the remembrance of God unto the worlds,

Unto him whose name is equivalent to the name of One,[3] the remembrance of God unto the worlds.

Say, 'Verily all originate from the Point of Revelation (Nuqta-i-Beyán).

O Name of the One,[4] keep what hath been revealed in the Beyán,

And what hath been commanded, 'Verily Thou art a mighty way of Truth.'"

In 1852, when the attempt on the life of the Shah was made, the Bábís were bitterly persecuted, and Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel retired to Baghdád, which then became the head-quarters of the sect, and was for many years recognised, at least nominally, as its head. Mírzá Ḥusain 'Alí Behá'ulláh, who was Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's senior by thirteen years, and had just been released from imprisonment, joined him in 1853. The Persian Government, at length, objected to his residence there and prevailed on the Turkish authorities in

[1] *The New History of the Báb*, p. 426. A fac-simile of the transcript by Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel from the original letter written by the Báb is also given.

[2] *i.e.*, The Báb.

[3] Wáḥid, one. The numerical value of the letters of wáḥid is 18, which is also the value of those in Yaḥyá, one of the names of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel.

[4] *i.e.*, Yaḥyá.

1863-4 to deport him and his followers to Constantinople, from whence a few months later on they were sent to Adrianople. Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel led a very secluded life, and the correspondence and other matters were carried on by Behá, who acted for him and was a man of resolute will and ambitious character. For a time he acted in the name of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel and professed to do all he did under his instructions; but in time the idea gradually formed itself in his mind that should become actually as indeed he was already virtually the head and leader of the Bábís. Thus the influence of Behá grew, and at last he began to advance claims[1] which afterwards culminated in the assertion that he was the person to whom the Báb referred as 'Him whom God shall manifest.'[2] To this claim[3] the Ezelís replied that

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[1] Amongst these was one advanced for him by Mírzá Abú'l Fazl in the استدلالیة in which it was maintained that Behá was the promised Messiah of the Jews. He speaks of a good time coming when all nations will be of one religion and Israel shall inherit the earth, if they do not turn away from the light and guidance now come to them.

و اورشلیم پایمال قبائل خواهد گشت تا آنکه بزرگی از جانب خداوند بربوبیّت کبری
مبعوث گردد و بنی اسرائیل را از ذلت و گرفتاری نجات بخشد و بمراتب عزّت و بزرگی نایل
فرماید و جمیع طوایف عالم را بر یك دین و مذهب متّفق گرداند و بنی اسرائیل را رتبهٔ
وراثت ارض و هدایت عباد عنایت فرماید و بالجمله چون در مراتب مذکوره وقوف حاصل
شد معروض میدارم که در این قرن شریف و یوم عزیز اهل بها مدّعی بر آنند که میعاد
ظهور این وعدهٔ مبارکه فرا رسیده است و وجود مبارکی که نجات کلّ اهل عالم موقوف
بظهور او بود از مشرق عالم طالع شده و سطوت و اقتدار او باوجود معاندت کلّ ملل در تمام
بلاد ظاهر گشته یعنی نیّر وجود مسعود بهآء اللّه در سنهٔ هزار و دویست و هشتاد و پنج هجری
در اراضی مقدّسه و بریّة الشام در شهر عکّا که در حول کوه کرمل است خداوند باعظم اسماه
و ربوبیّت کبری ظاهر فرمود و کلام الهی و وحی آسمانی را بر نهجی که در تورٰة وعده داده شده
بر لسان مبارکش نازل نمود

R. A. S. Journal, October 1892, p. 703.

[2] مَن يَظْهَرُ اللّه man yaẓarulláh. He declared openly his divine mission in 1866-7 at Adrianople, from which date the schism commences.

[3] It required great firmness to meet the claim and Mr. Browne says,—"Such firmness Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel, a peace-loving, contemplative, gentle soul, wholly devoted to the memory of his beloved master, caring little for authority, and incapable of self-assertion, seems to have altogether lacked." Introduction to the *New History of the Báb*, p. xxi.

before the person of whose advent the Báb had spoken could come, Bábíism must obtain general currency, and the laws laid down by the Báb in his books[1] must be accepted by most of the nations of the world. They further added to their reply that it was not to be supposed that two manifestations ẓahúr—that of the Báb and that of 'Him whom God shall manifest'—could take place with so short an interval of time between them. The Behá'ís, who admitted that Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel was the first vice-regent of the Báb, to all the objections alleged replied that Mírzá Yaḥyá's rule was only to last until the manifestation of the new leader, who was to come suddenly, and the time of whose advent was known only to God; that the Báb had stated that he, the new prophet, would come suddenly, and that it could not come to pass that any one should falsely claim the honour. They also used an argument well known amongst Muḥammadans, an argument based on the literary style of the books given by means of a divinely appointed messenger, and urged that the Lauḥ-i-Naṣír, the book in which Behá announced his mission, fulfilled this condition of a divine revelation by its eloquence of diction and the wonderful knowledge, unacquired by study, displayed by the writer. Anyhow, the conflicting claims to the leadership led to quarrels and blows.[2] The Turkish Government then determined to separate the disputants.[3] Behá and his followers

[1] "The Bábí literature is extensive but secret, for he who was known to possess such books put his life in great danger." *Les Religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, p. 310.

[2] "Amongst the Bábís the effect of this announcement (*i.e.*, Behá's claim) was little short of stupendous. From Constantinople to Kirmán and from Cairo to Khurásán the communities of the faithful were rent asunder by a schism which every subsequent year has rendered wider and more permanent, and which nothing short of the complete extinction of one of the two rival factions can possibly heal. At Adrianople itself the struggle was short and the triumph of Behá complete." *New History of the Báb*, p. xxii.

[3] For the view of the Ezeli historians on what they consider to be the grave misconduct and treachery of the Behá'ís, see *Episode of the Báb*, pp. 359-364.

The Behá'í version of the affair is given on pp. 368-9,

were sent to Acre,[1] and Mírzá Yaḥyá and his people were exiled to Famagusta, in Cyprus. A few Ezelís were sent with Behá, and a few Behá'ís were sent with Mírzá Yaḥyá. It was hoped that by this arrangement the minority, in each case, would act as spies and prevent any communication between Bábís in Persia and either of the leaders. Since then the followers of Behá have increased very much, whilst those of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel, or Yaḥyá, have decreased. This is an unlooked for development of the work of the Báb, for Behá claims to be the messenger of a new dispensation altogether.[2]

This caused much consternation in the Bábí world. A hopeless schism was made, and peace can only come by the extinction of one party. The question at issue now became something more than a mere struggle for leadership, for Behá's claim virtually deposed the Báb from his position as the 'Point of Revelation' and made him the mere fore-runner of 'Him whom God shall manifest'. The Ezelís are, however, nearly extinct, and it is not likely that they will ever attain to power again. Assuming that Behá had right on his side, it is stated that the changes he made were in a practical direction and beneficial.

The Bábí doctrines are to be found in the writings of the Báb called the Beyán,[3] a term he used as conveniently expressing

[1] This is still the head-quarters of the Behá'ís, to which sect most of the Bábís now belong.

[2] Mr. Browne put the following question to a Behá'í: "Why do you speak of Mírzá Yaḥyá as though he were of no account? In the books about your religion which I read in Europe, he is described as the Báb's chosen successor and, after him, as the chief of your sect?"

"Yes," replied Mírzá Ḥasan, "it is true that he was one of the early believers, and that at first he was accounted the successor and vice-regent of the Báb, but he was repeatedly warned not to withhold his allegiance from 'Him whom God shall manifest', and threatened that if he did so, he would fall from the faith and become as one rejected. In spite of these clear warnings of his master, he refused to acknowledge the new manifestation when it came; wherefore he is now regarded by us as of no account."—*A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 335.

[3] Composed in 1848.

the sphere in which his thoughts moved. It is a name sometimes apparently applied to the collective writings, but more generally to a particular book.[1] Many of the dogmas are very mystical:[2] but the following is a brief summary.

God is eternal and unapproachable. All things come from Him and exist by Him. Man cannot approach Him except through some appointed medium. So, distinct from God there is a Primal Will,[3] or Mashiyyat-i-Úlá, who becomes incarnate

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[1] Count Gobineau considers that the name applies to all he wrote and that he used it "pour titre à tout ce qu'il composa." *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans L'Asie Centrale*, p. 311.

[2] It is not always easy to understand the esoteric dogmas of these Persian sects for, as Mr. E. G. Browne says:—"There is a profound difference between the Persian idea of religion and that which obtains in the west. Here it is the ideas of faith and righteousness (in different proportions, it is true), there it is knowledge and mystery. Here religion is regarded as a rule by which to live and a hope wherein to die, there as a key to unlock the secrets of the spiritual and material universe. Here it is associated with work and charity, there with rest and wisdom, here a creed is admired for its simplicity, there for its complexity." . . . . . "Thus it comes to pass that Persians have as often died for belief in some obscure mystical dogma as for some ethical principle or motive." *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* January 1898, p. 88.

[3] There is an evident connection between this dogma of the Bábís and the Ṣúfí system, in which the 'First Intelligence,' or 'Primal Element' is represented as a manifestation of God. To the Ṣúfí, as to the Bábí, God is "sterile in His inaccessible height." Men can never be more than slaves, nearness to Him is impossible. But men longed for communion with some one or something above them. They felt the need of some intermediary and found it in a revival of the old Gnostic notions of the Æons, forms of manifestation of the Ineffable and Incomprehensible. Neander thus describes the Gnostic view:—"Self-limitation is the first beginning of a communication of life from God—the first passing of the hidden deity into manifestation, and from this proceeds all further self-developing manifestation of the divine essence. Now, from this primal link in the chain of life there are evolved, in the first place, the manifold powers or attributes inherent in the divine essence, which, until that first self-comprehension, were all hidden in this abyss of His essence." This intermediary is the Primal Will of the Bábí and the Primal Element of the Ṣúfí, who also calls it by the names of the Pen, the First Principle, the spirit of Muḥammad, Universal Reason or 'aql-i-kull. God's voice is heard through it, by it material things were brought into existence. It works in Prophets and Saints. The Imám is closely connected with it. I am not able to find out whether the Báb taught that the Primal Will was created or not. In Ṣúfí theology it certainly is, for in the Akhláq-i-Jalálí it is

in the prophets. This Primal Will which spoke in all the prophets of the past, spoke also in the Báb who is the Nuqṭa-i-Beyán, or the point of Revelation and will speak in 'Him whom God shall manifest'. This is apparent from the following texts of the Beyán:—"The whole Beyán revolves round the saying of 'Him whom God shall manifest.'" "A thousand perusals of the Beyán are not equal to the perusal of one verse of what shall be revealed by 'Him whom God shall manifest.'" "The Beyán is to-day in the stage of seed, but in the day of 'Him whom God shall manifest' it will arrive at the degree of fruition." It must be remembered that Behá claimed, and is allowed by his followers this exalted position. The following are some of the expressions used of Behá by his followers:—"Behá has come for the perfecting of the law of Christ, and his injunctions are in all respects similar. For instance, we are commanded that we should prefer that we should be killed rather than that we should kill. It is the same throughout, and, indeed, could not be otherwise, for Behá is Christ returned again, even as He promised, to perfect that which He had begun." "Christ returns to you as Behá with Angels, with clouds, with the sound of trumpets. His angels are his messengers, the clouds are the doubts which prevent you recognising him; the sound of the trumpets is the sound of the proclamation which you now hear, announcing that He has come once more from heaven, even as he came before."[1]

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written: "It is admitted, equally by the masters of perception and conception, that the First Principle which, at the mandate, 'Be and it is,' issued, by the ineffable power and will, from the chaotic ocean of inexistence, was a simple and luminous essence which, in the language of philosophy, is termed the Primary Intelligence, and the great fathers of mysticism and investigation call it the Muḥammadan Spirit." It is to this and not to the inaccessible and incomprehensible God that the Imám seeks to return. When his work in life is done, then 'his end is joined to his beginning'—Ba ághaz girdad báz anjám. It is a curious phase of human thought which the Ṣúfís evidently borrowed from the Gnostics, and the Bábís from the Ṣúfís. This earnest longing for communion with a manifestation of God we can sympathise with, and only regret that, in their ignorance or repudiation of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation, both Ṣúfí and Bábí have so sadly missed the mark.

[1] *A Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 308-9.

Each dispensation of the Primal Will thus become incarnate supersedes a preceding one, and so Islám has ceased to be the true religion for to-day. It has already been shown (p. 55) that devotion to the Imám was a very prominent point in the teaching of the Báb. In one of the earliest of his writings, we read, "When thou wishest to visit the Friend of God, or one *of the Imáms of the Faith*, first purify thy body from everything which thy heart dislikes; then wash thyself with seven handfuls of water upon thy head." Then follow directions how to approach the Imám with humility, and the prayer to be said. He addresses the Imáms as Effulgences of the Divine Glory, Manifestations of God, Intercessors with Him for sinful men. He longs for communion with them. Thus, "Where are the days of your manifestation that I may be independent of all except you? and where are the days of the appearance of the signs of your lordship, that by your permission, I may say to whatsoever I will, 'Be', and it shall become existent before you." These are the enthusiastic utterances of a devout Shí'ah, and represent the feelings of the Báb before he felt conscious of any special mission. But this constant dwelling on the glory of the Imáms, the dispensers of God's will and favour, gradually led to the formation of the idea that he had special communication with them and was, in fact, the Báb.

At this stage the usual Muḥammadan customs were not set aside. The month of Ramaẓán was observed as a fast; but the 'Ulamá were bitterly reproached for opposing this new revelation. Thus the Báb says:—"O people of the earth! give thanks to God, for verily we have delivered you from the doctors of doubt."

For a more complete exposition of the Bábí dogmas, Mr. Browne, to whose valuable researches we are chiefly indebted for the best information on the subject, refers to the Persian Beyán, from which quotations have already been made. This work brings out more fully the theory of a Primal Will. "Since it is impossible for created beings to know the Divine Essence, the Primal Will has for their guidance and instruc-

tion, incarnated itself from time to time in a human form. These incarnations are known as 'Prophets.' That which spoke in all the Prophets of the past now speaks in the Báb and will speak through 'Him whom God shall manifest,' and after him through others, for there is no cessation in these manifestations. "That which spoke in Adam, Noah, Moses, David, Jesus and Muḥammad[1] was the one and the same Primal Will. In each manifestation news has been given of the following one. Thus the Jews were told to expect a Messiah but they rejected him; the Christians to expect Muḥammad but, as a rule, they did not accept him; so the Muḥammadans are taught to look out for Imám Mahdí. Yet now he has come (*i.e.*, in the Báb) they persecute him."[2]

The chapters of the Beyán are arranged in groups of nineteen, a number which has a peculiar significance with the Bábís. Each letter of the Arabic alphabet has a numerical value, and so dates can be given by words or sentences. Alif, the first letter, stands for God, and the word for one is wáḥid. The numerical value of the letters in this word is 19. God is absolute Being, or wujúd, the value of the letters of which also comes to 19.[3] The name of one of the attributes of God is Ḥayy, or the Living. The sum of the letters of this word is 18, to which, if we add the letter Alif—the 'One' which pervades all—we again get the sacred number 19. Nineteen, then, represents the manifestation of the unknowable essence, and 19×19 (=361) represents the manifested universe, or all things, expressed by the term 'kulu shey' the numerical value

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[1] These are the Anbiyá Ulú'l 'Azm of Islám. Vide *Faith of Islám*, p. 216.

[2] *Journal of the R.A.S.*, vol. xxi. pp. 914, 925.

[3] This is in accord with the second canon of the Cabbalistic system of Biblical interpretation in the thirteenth century, which is called *Ghematria*, or "the use of the numerical values of the letters of a word for purposes of comparison with other words which yield the same or similar combinations of numbers."* I am not prepared to say that there is any historical connection between the Cabbalist and the Persian mystic. The subject needs investigation.

* *Biblical Study*, by Dr. Briggs, p. 301.

of which words is 360, to which Alif, the 'One' pervading all, is added and we then get 361.

In this world, God is represented by Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad, the Báb, who is called the nuqṭa, or Point, and his 18 disciples. "These eighteen are called the ḥurúfát-i-ḥayy, or Letters of the Living, because by them the Báb bestowed new life upon the world." These again with their leader form the number 19, and thus constitute a wáḥid, or complete unity, and, as each disciple was to have 19 others under him, we again arrive at 361, which represents the numerical value of 'kullu shey', or the 'number of all things' that is, the ''adad-i-kullu shey.' On this same ground the Beyán has 19 parts and each part has 19 chapters. The Bábí year has 19 months of 19 days, each day 19 hours, each hour nineteen minutes. The same principle was to regulate measures of distance and of weights. Law and commerce were to come under its influence. "Organise," said the Báb, "all things after the number of the Unity, that is to say by a division into nineteen parts."[1]

Another point on which the Beyán lays much stress is that no revelation is final. This is entirely opposed to the ordinary Muḥammadan view, which is that, as Muḥammad was khá-tamu'l anbiyá, or the seal of the Prophets, his revelation closed the series. The Báb taught that, as the human race progresses, the Primal Will, the teacher of men, speaks in each new revelation more fully and more clearly.[2] All these successive

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[1] *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans L'Asie Centrale*, p. 322.

[2] Il a dit qu'il ne venait donner qu'un développement de plus à la science de la nature divine : que tous les prophètes successivement en ont dit plus que leurs prédécesseurs n'aváient eu mission de la faire, et que c'est simplement en conséquence de ce progrès régulier que lui a été commise la tâche d'être plus complet que Mahomet, lequel l'avait été plus que Jésus, qui, à son tour, en avait su plus que ses prédécesseurs." *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans L'Asie Centrale*, p. 317.

"Enfin le Báb parut à son tour, et sa révélation, plus complete sans doute et, comme diraient chez nous certains politiques, plus progressive, a d'ailleurs revêtu des caractères assez particuliérs, qui sont la démonstration et la preuve de son excellence." *Ibid*, p. 326.

and progressive revelations and dispensations were not for the purpose of abrogating preceding essential laws, but to complete them and especially to prepare the world for the fuller teaching of 'Him whom God shall manifest.'

"A new prophet is not sent until the development of the human race renders this necessary. A revelation is not abrogated till it no longer suffices for the needs of mankind. There is no disagreement between the prophets: all teach the same truth, but in such measure as men can receive it. As mankind advance and progress they need fuller instruction. The instruction given by Abraham was suitable and sufficient for the people of his day, but not for those to whom Moses was sent, while this in turn had ceased to meet the needs of those to whom Christ was sent. Yet we must not say that their religions were opposed to one another, but rather that each manifestation is more complete and more perfect than the last."[1]

The great point in the Bábí theology is that the teacher is one and the same, though he manifests himself according to the capacity and needs of those to whom he is sent. The outward form changes but the Universal Spirit remains.[2] It then follows that "since this Universal Spirit is absolute good, we must believe that it always has a manifestation in the world . . . . . hence during the long intervals which separate one prophetic dispensation from the next, there must be in the world silent manifestations of the spirit, intrinsically not less perfect than the speaking manifestations whom we call prophets."[3] Such persons would seem to be those who in Ṣúfí phraseology had annihilated self, "escaped the delusions of plurality and realised the unity of True Being," who differ in degree but not in kind from the Prophets.

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[1] *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 303.

[2] "The religion of God is One, though the Theophanies differ." *New History of the Báb*, p. 336.

[3] *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 327.

The Báb was a prisoner when he showed such interest in preparing the mind of his followers for this 'Coming One'. The Beyán is full of it. It is laid down that in every assembly of believers a vacant place must be left for him. When his name is mentioned all must rise up. In any case the ground was well prepared for Behá when he made his claim.

The Beyán speaks with confidence of the success of Bábíism. The future Bábí community is to form a perfect Utopia and its governments are to be tolerant.[1] The kindly nature of the Báb is seen in the fancy sketches he draws of the future.

At the day of Judgment, 'He whom God shall manifest' will preside. All the good people will be praised for their works, their piety, their obedience. Evil men will be annihilated. Thus the good will return to God and dwell in Him; the bad will pass away and be no more.

The Muḥammadan doctrines of the examination of the dead in the graves,[2] the Resurrection, Ṣiráṭ, Heaven, Hell, are all treated allegorically. The first is really a summons to the people to believe in the next manifestation of the Primal Will (p. 82), the Resurrection is the appearance of this manifestation. Ṣiráṭ, or the Bridge,[3] is the belief in the prophet of the age, a matter difficult to the self-willed, but easy to the seeker after God. Hell is ignorance and denial of the last manifestation of God, through the Primal Will incarnated in the Prophet, whilst Heaven is joy in it. The views of the Báb on a future life are not very clear. Speaking of Barzakh[4] he says, "What is intended by Barzakh is merely the interval between two manifestations, and not that which is commonly known amongst men, for none knoweth what shall be decreed unto them after death except God." The hope of a future reward was not placed before his followers as an inducement to accept him, and this is in direct

[1] For a fuller account see *Journal, R. A. S.*, vol. xxi., pp. 927-8.

[2] Sell's *Faith of Islam*, p. 204.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 226.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 228.

contrast to the conduct and teaching of Muḥammad. In the Beyán the Báb wrote the following striking words:—"So worship God that, if the recompense of thy worship of Him were to be the fire, no alteration in thy worship of Him would be produced. If you worship from fear, that is unworthy of the threshold of the holiness of God, nor will you be accounted a believer; so also, if your gaze is on Paradise, and if you worship in hope of that, for then you have made God's creation a partner with Him."[1]

To a very large number of Bábís, Behá was during the latter part of his life[2] looked up to as a divinely appointed guide. Before he assumed that position he wrote a book called the Ikán, which is held in great esteem. In this book he seems to acknowledge the then superior position of Subh-i-Ezel, but writes bitterly of some who were hostile to himself. Two years after the Turks had banished him to Adrianople, he boldly asserted his claim and called on all the Ezelís to submit to his direction. He then wrote other treatises in which his position is dogmatically set forth. "If any one understood the love of Behá in the world of creation, and were to fight on his side against all who are in the earth and the heavens, God would verily make him victorious over them, as a showing forth of his power, a setting forth of his Majesty." The people of the Beyán (*i.e.*, the Bábís not of his party) complained about all this, and Behá very severely censures them:—"O people of the Beyán! have you not considered that he[3] for twenty years has stood up by himself against the enemies. Many are the nights when all were sleeping at ease on their beds, while this Beauty of Primal Unity (*i.e.*, Behá) was standing up openly against the unbelievers." The extent of his claim is well shown by Mr. E. G. Browne in a descriptive[4] passage from which I

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[1] *R. A. S. Journal*, October 1889, p. 931.
[2] He died in exile on May 16th, 1892.
[3] Behá, who is writing of himself in the third person.
[4] *Journal of the R. A. S.*, vol. xxi., pp. 951-2.

have quoted freely. Behá also says in a book of his:—"I[1] revealed all the heavenly books by the glorious tongue of might."

The Bábí hierarchy consists of the Point and eighteen 'Letters of the Living,'[2] making up the mystic number nineteen. The 'Point' is the manifestation of the essence of God: the others, the eighteen, are regarded as incarnations or manifestations of the attributes or names of God. According to Behá he himself was the 'Point' and Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel one of the eighteen 'Letters of the Living.' This throws light on a passage where Behá calls himself Málik-i-Ṣifát, or the Lord of the attributes, *i.e.*, that he is the divine essence made manifest, who reproves those who are "veiled by the names" from the essence. Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel he calls a name amongst my names, whom I created by a single letter, and to whom I gave life and who yet "arose in war" against his "Beauty." In another place he calls himself the Nuqṭa-i-Úlá or the First Point, or the Báb returned to life again.

A few extracts[3] from some of Behá's writings will show to some extent what he taught his followers. "As for those who commit sin and cling to the world they assuredly are not of the people of Behá. O worshippers of the Unity, make firm the girdle of endeavour, that perchance religious strife and conflict may be removed from amongst the people of the world and be annulled. For love of God and His servants engage in this great and mighty matter. Religious hatred and rancour is a world-consuming fire." "With perfect compassion and mercy have we guided and directed the people of the world to that whereby their souls shall be profited. I swear by the sun of truth

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[1] Behá is here expressing the Bábí dogma of the Unity of the essential principle which spoke through all the prophets, and so what was revealed by preceding prophets he could describe as "I revealed."

[2] In reality Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel was the 4th letter. The Báb was the first, then came Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí Bárfurúshi (Jenáb-i-quddús); then Mullá Ḥusain of Bushraweyh (Jenáb-i-Bábu'l Báb); then Mírzá Yaḥyá (Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel), who on the death of the two above him became second, and on the death of the Báb claimed to be the first.

[3] *Episode of the Báb*, pp. 70, 114.

that the people of Behá have not any aim save the prosperity and reformation of the world and the purifying of the nations." "The heart must be sanctified from every form of selfishness and lust, for the weapons of the worshippers of the Unity and the saints were, and are, the fear of God." "Every one who desireth 'victory' must first subdue the city of his own heart with the sword of spiritual truth and of the word." "No stranger must find his way into the city of the heart, so that the Incomparable Friend (*i.e.*, God) may come unto His own place—that is, the effulgence of His names and attributes, not His essence, for that Peerless King hath been, and will be holy for everlasting, above ascent or descent."[1]

People often came to Behá for direction as to their conduct and for instruction. This led him to write the Lauḥ-i-aqdas, or the "Most Holy Book," in which many practical rules are laid down. It will be seen that they differ considerably from those which are current in Islám.

Prayer is to be said three times a day, and the number of prostrations are much fewer than those held necessary amongst Muḥammadans. The worshipper no longer turns to Mecca, but towards "the Most Holy Region, the Holy Place, whence issueth the command to whomsoever is in the earths and the heavens."[2] That Acre is here meant is clear, because it is said that when Behá dies, or, as it is put in hyperbolic language, "when the sun of truth and exhortation sets," the Qibla is to be changed to "that place which we have appointed you."

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1 This is to guard against the idea held by some that God comes down into man, or man rises up unto God, and that thus both are identified. The mystical view is that man is annihilated in God. Mr. Browne gives a good quotation from Jámi, a Ṣúfí writer, on this point.

"So tread this path that duality may disappear,
For if there be duality in this path, falsity will arise:
Thou wilt not become *He*; but if thou strivest,
Thou wilt reach a place where *thou-ness* (tú tú'í,) shall depart from thee."

2 Count Gobineau says that the Báb did not substitute any Qibla for the ancient ones of Jerusalem and Mecca which he set aside; but declared that "ce sera le grand Revelateur qui décidera." *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans L'Asie Centrale*, p. 332.

The great festival is that of the Persian Naurúz or New Year's day. Instead of the Muḥammadan fast of Ramaẓán of thirty days, a month of nineteen days, the last month of the Bábí year, is appointed. Images and pictures are not allowed in places of worship; but music and singing are lawful in such buildings for purposes of devotion. A belief in the efficacy of talesmans and charms is encouraged.[1] Each man constantly carries on his person a charm in the shape of a star, the rays of which are formed of lines, containing the name of God; the women wear one made in the form of a circle. No encouragement is given to mendicants. It is said:—"The most hateful of mankind before God is he who sits and begs: take hold of the rope of means, relying on God, the Causer of Causes." The traffic in slaves is forbidden, and there are laws about great criminal offences, and civil matters such as inheritance, endowments, and so on. Shaving the head is not allowed, but the beard, may be cut off. Legal impurity is abolished and intercourse with persons of all religions is enjoined.[2] Music is permitted, wine and opium are prohibited. The furniture of houses should be renewed every nineteen years. It is recommended that chairs should be used. No one must carry arms except in times of tumult or war. Circumcision is treated as a matter of indifference. The Báb allowed a second wife to be taken, but prohibited concubinage. His reluctance, however, to polygamy was so manifest that his successors consider it an evil thing to accept the tolerance which he showed as regards duality of wives.[3] All are to read the sacred books regularly, to be kind and courteous in their conduct, to give alms, to approve for others what they would like themselves,

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[1] Il (Báb) consacre à nouveau la science talísmaníque et la releve sans hésiter de la condamnation prononcée contre elle par le Christianisme, et, avec regret, prononcée aussi par l'Islám. *Ibid*, p. 336.

[2] A Missionary in Persia writes:—"I can again testify, as I did in the pages of the *C. M. S. Intelligencer* five years ago, to the exceeding friendliness, and even brotherliness of these dear people." *C. M. S. Intelligencer*, 1898 p. 648.

[3] *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans L'Asie Centrale*, p. 346.

and to forgive their enemies. Instead of the usual Muḥammadan salutation, As-Saláma 'alaikum and 'alaikumu's-salám, or "peace be upon you" and "upon you be peace", the Bábís amongst themselves say, on meeting one another, "Alláhu abhá"—God is most bright, to which the response is the same.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for October 1892 contains a translation of some of Behá's selected precepts. They are introduced by the following statement made by Behá:—"These divine ordinances and commands, formerly revealed in sundry epistles, in the Kitáb-i-Aqdas, in the Illuminations, Effulgences, Ornaments, &c., have, agreeably to the Supreme and most Holy command, been collected, that all may become cognizant of the grace, mercy, and favour of God (great is His glory) in this most mighty Manifestation and this great Announcement, and may engage in praise and thanksgiving to the desired object of all the inhabitants of the world. Verily, He helpeth His servants unto that which He willeth, for He is the wise ordainer." Some of the precepts to guide the conduct of Bábís are on the following subjects:—[1]

1. Abolition of religious warfare.
2. Friendly intercourse with all sects and people.
3. Promise of this 'Most Great Peace.'[2]
4. Obedience to the ruler who protects them.
5. Submission to the laws of the country in which they live.
6. Confession of sin to fellow-men is prohibited. Confession must be to, and pardon sought from, God only.
7. The study of such sciences as tend to the welfare of mankind is encouraged.

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[1] For a fuller account, see *Journal of the R. A. S.*, October 1892, pp. 678-9.

[2] An expression used by Behá in conversation with Mr. Browne. Behá said, "We desire . . . . . that all nations should become one in faith and all men as brothers; that the bond of affection and unity between the sons of men should be strengthened; that diversities of religion should cease, and differences of race be annulled—what harm is there in this? . . . . . Yet so it shall be; these fruitless strifes, these ruinous wars shall pass away, and the 'Most Great Peace' shall come." *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii., p. 40.

8. All must learn some trade or practise some profession.
9. Visits to tombs and shrines are not obligatory.[1]

The personal influence of Behá over his followers is not to be wondered at when an English visitor can thus describe an interview with him. "The face of him on whom I gazed I can never forget, though I cannot describe it. Those piercing eyes seemed to read one's very soul: power and authority sat in that ample brow; while the deep lines of the forehead and face implied an age which the jet black hair and beard flowing down in undistinguishable luxuriance almost to the waist seemed to belie. No need to ask in whose presence I stood, as I bowed myself before one who is the object of a devotion and love which kings might envy and emperors sigh for in vain."[2]

Behá has now passed away.[3] A letter written by his son on June 3rd, 1892, gives the sorrowful news. A short quotation from a translation made by Mr. Browne reads as follows:—

"The horizon of the phenomenal world is bereft of the effulgence of the sun of wisdom and revelation, the throne of the universe is deprived of the radiance of the most mighty luminary. The ears of the friends are, to outward appearance, debarred from hearkening to the cry of the Supreme Pen and the eyes of the longing are veiled from the contemplation of the most Glorious Horizon. Great God! how dire a catastrophe is this which has arisen in the world. The sun of truth has bidden farewell to this earthly sphere . . . . . We and you alike must adorn ourselves with the ornament of patience and resignation, must lay hold of the firm rope of submission and acquiescence, apply ourselves with strong hearts and tranquil souls to what will conduce to the progress of mankind, the peace and prosperity of the world, the amelioration of character, and the appearance of charity and concord, and attach ourselves

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[1] For a fuller account, see *Journal of the R. A. S.*, October 1892, pp. 678-9.

[2] *The Episode of the Báb*, p. 40.

[3] His followers do not speak of his death, but always refer to it as his ascension. *C. M. S. Intelligencer*, 1898, p. 645.

with our whole being to the counsels of the Lord of the Visible and the Invisible, so that the Phenomenal World may, by the Grace of that Beneficent Being, be beheld an envy to the Garden of Paradise."[1]

After the death of Behá his eldest son 'Abbás Effendi became his successor and is called—man arádalláhu[2]—He whom God hath desired. He is described as a strong, tall man, with a broad forehead and keen eye, indicating a firm will and strong intellect. Those who come into contact with him feel his influence and soon learn to respect him.[3] Some Behá'ís consider that he, like Behá, is a divine manifestation and not a mere man, others deny this and say that he is nothing more than a servant of Behá, for they hold that no further manifestation will take place until a thousand years shall have passed away. 'Abbás Effendi lives at Acre, and maintains a correspondence

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[1] The following is the Persian text of the extract from the letter.

افق امکان از تجلّیات آفتاب حکمت و بیان محروم و سریر عالم از پرتو نیّر اعظم ممنوع آذان دوستان از استماع صریر قلم اعلی در ظاهر باز مانده و عیون مشتاقان از مشاهدهٔ افق ابهی محجوب گشته - سبحان اللّه چه قیامتی در عالم برپا و چه اضطرابی در وجود هویدا شمس حقیقی ترك عالم نمود ...... این عباد و آنجناب جمیعاً بطراز صبر و تسلیمم مزیّن شـویم و بحبل محکم رضا و تمکین متشبّث و با قلوب قویّه و نفوس مطمئنّه بر آنچه علت ترقیٔ عباد و آسایش و عمار بلاد و تهذیب اخلاق و ظهور الفت و وفاقست قائم و بتمام وجود بنصائح مالك غیب و شهود متمسّك تا عالم امکان بعنایت حضرت منّان رشك روضهٔ رضوان مشاهده گردد *

R. A. S. Journal for October 1892, p. 707.

[2] مَن أَرَادَ اللّٰهُ

[3] Mr. E. G. Browne, writing after a personal interview, says:—"subsequent conversation with him served to heighten the respect with which his appearance had from the first inspired me. One more eloquent of speech, more ready of argument, more apt of illustration, more intimately acquainted with the sacred books of the Jews, the Christians, and the Muḥammadans, could, I think, scarcely be found even amongst the eloquent, ready and subtle race to which he belongs. These qualities, combined with a bearing at once majestic and general, made me cease to wonder at the influence and esteem which he enjoyed even beyond the circle of his father's followers. About the greatness of this man and his power no one who had seen him could entertain a doubt." *Episode of the Báb*, p. xxxvi.

with his followers in Persia and is visited by some of the more devout of his followers who look upon the journey from Persia to Acre as a pilgrimage. In the year 1898 he was much troubled by dissension caused by the rivalry of his younger brother.

The Behá'ís in Persia enjoy much more liberty under Muẓaffara'd-dín Shah than they did under the late Shah, Náṣiru'd-dín.

Space forbids us to follow the fortunes of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel in Cyprus, His person and appearance are thus described by Mr. Browne.[1] "A venerable and benevolent-looking old man of about sixty years of age, somewhat below the middle height, with ample forehead on which the traces of care and anxiety were apparent, clear searching blue eyes and long grey beard, rose and advanced to meet us. Before that mild and dignified countenance, I involuntarily bowed myself with unfeigned respect; for at length my long-cherished desire was fulfilled, and I stood face to face with Mírzá Yaḥyá, Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel (morning of Eternity), the appointed successor of the Báb, fourth 'Letter' of the 'First Unity.'" When Cyprus was handed over to the English Government, Mírzá Yaḥyá, with other political exiles, was transferred, and still remains there as a political pensioner.

From what has now been stated, it will be seen that Bábíism is not a political movement, though in its early days it was brought into conflict with the civil power; but that it is a religious revolt against orthodox Islám, so far as that is represented by the Shí'ah sect. It raises women to a higher level, it professes to limit many of the social evils of Islám, it tends to give liberty of thought and to develop a friendly spirit to others. Mr. Curzon says:—[2] "Brotherly love, kindness to children, courtesy combined with dignity, sociability, hospitality, freedom from bigotry, friendliness even to Christians are included in its tenets." If men are sometimes better than their creed,

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[1] *Episode of the Báb*, p. xxiv.

[2] *Persia*, Vol. I, p. 502.

they are sometimes worse, and not every Bábí lives up to this ideal. It is perhaps too soon to speculate on the future of the movement. Those who think it will gradually take the place of Islám in Persia, base a strong argument on the fact that its "recruits are won from the best soldiers of the garrison it is attacking." It certainly appeals to the traditionary instincts of many Persians. The Ṣufí needs a Pír, or living guide; the Shí'ah meditates on the Imám, and the high position accorded to that person in Bábíism is at least attractive. The life and death of the Báb, and the magnificent heroism of his followers all help forward the movement. Whether when the victory is won, the Bábís in the day of power will be as gentle and as liberal as they are in the night of adversity is perhaps doubtful. The whole movement has a disintegrating effect in Islám as professed in Persia, though whether it will prepare the way for the Gospel is a matter on which there is room for difference of opinion. Some persons, well qualified to judge, consider that it yields a present satisfaction to quickened religious instincts, and supplies a brotherhood not yet to be found in Christianity in Persia, where indeed it appears to the Persians themselves as a foreign religion. In such a case it would seem likely to be a final home, rather than a resting place on the road from Muḥammad to Christ. But to all, who take an interest in Christian missions in Persia, the movement is one of great interest.[1] It does, at least, betrays a longing

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[1] I am indebted to a well-known Missionary who has spent a long time in Persia for the following facts:—

(1) The Behá'ís admit that the Lord Jesus Christ was the incarnate son; but claim that Behá was the incarnate Father, and as each incarnation is superior to a proceeding one, Behá is greater than Christ.

(2) Some of the Behá'ís now say:—'we are Christians'; others say:—'we are almost Christians'; others, 'The only difference between us is that we accepted Christ when he came to us fifty years ago (*i.e.* in Behá) and you rejected him.

(3) They constantly invite the Christian Missionary to their houses, and are most hospitable and kind.

(4) The Behá'ís admit that the New Testament is the uncorrupted Word of God.

(5) Many Jews in Persia have become Bábís and, on the other hand, some Bábís have become Christians.

for a real, living, loving, personal guide, the revealer of God to man, which can be best met by the acceptance of the Eternal Word. In any case, if only liberty of conscience can be secured, there seems to be a wide and open door for the proclamation of "Him whom God has manifested," "in Whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge", for it "pleased the Father that in Him should all fulness dwell."[1]

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[1] Colossians ii. 3; i. 19.

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS OF ISLÁM.

III.

The two most active elements in Muslim lands in the opposition to social, political, and religious reforms and to the advance of modern civilisation are the 'Ulamá, the men who may be said to form the lawyers and the clergy of Islám, and the various Orders of Darwishes. The 'Ulamá speak in the name of the sacred Law, eternal, unchangeable. The Darwishes look upon Islám as a vast theocracy, in which their spiritual leaders are the true guides. It is conceivable that the 'Ulamá might be brought to see that, if some concessions would save a Muslim State from ruin or extinction, it might be to their advantage to make them. The Darwish treats with scorn any attempt at compromise, and looks upon a Muslim government, which in the least departs from the laws and practices of the early Khalifate, as disloyal to the great principle that Islám is a theocracy. Its first rulers were neither kings nor princes: they were preachers, Khalifs, or vice-regents of the Prophet. In the opinion of the Darwish, as it was then so it should be now. Muslims should be governed by an Imám, who is both a religious and a political leader, whose chief business it is to maintain the laws of Islám intact, to execute justice according to their standard, to guard the frontiers, and to raise armies for the defence of the Faith. He should be so manifestly a ruler that the words of the sacred Tradition would be realized,

viz., that "He who dies without recognizing the authority of the Imám of the age, is accounted dead and is an infidel." It is the special function of the great Religious Orders to keep this principle active and to teach the people its vast importance. The most religious of the Muslim people see that the civilisation of Europe, now finding its way into Muslim lands, is a very great danger, and they seek to meet and to counteract it by a large development of the Religious Orders. In Africa and in parts of Asia this has resulted in a great pan-Islámic movement, still actively going on, and having for its object not merely "resistance to the advance of Christianity; but also opposition to the progress of all modern civilization."[1] Since the beginning of this century, this movement has grown with great rapidity. Under various pretexts, innumerable agents of the Religious Orders have gone throughout the Muslim world. They have adopted many disguises. Sometimes they are students, preachers, doctors; sometimes artisans, beggars, quacks; but they are everywhere received by the people and protected by them when they are suspected by the ruling powers. A French writer, one of the best living authorities on the subject, says that the reform movement in Islám during the 19th century has led to a great increase in the Religious Orders. The movement has not depended on the orthodox expounders and authorized keepers of the canon law, but, on the contrary, has relied on the leaders of the mystical sects, such as the Báb, the Mahdi and the great Darwish leaders. The most active element in Islám is now to be found amongst these Darwishes, and from them has proceeded an active propaganda, especially in Africa. This author sums up a long review of the whole position by saying that "all this constitutes a grave danger to the civilised world."[2]

It was not until the 19th century that Islám suffered any very grave reverses. It had had to retire a little in Europe,

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[1] Count Castries' *L'Islám*, p. 220.

[2] Chatelier's *Islám au xix. Siècle*, p. 187.

but in Africa it was still strong. So its religious element became slack. Now the position is changed. Algiers is gone, Morocco is in danger, the English dominate India and Egypt. Russia has encroached largely on the Turkish Empire, has also absorbed the Central Asian Khanates, and threatens Persia. Muslim rule in Central Africa is in danger, and it is not likely that it will now extend further south; for on all sides the Christian Powers are encroaching, and some of the best tribes, not yet wholly won to Islám, are within their respective spheres of influence, and the still independent Muslim States have to submit to a good deal of outward control. The development of commerce and the wider influence of modern civilisation and learning, its art and science, are also disturbing elements in the Muslim world. Its contemptuous isolation, its absolute sway, are becoming things of the past. This is very distressing to pious Muslims of the old orthodox school. It has provoked a great reaction. The religious spirit has been stirred up on its most fanatical side, and the Religious Orders have, in consequence, grown in extent and influence.

The existence of secret societies is not congenial to the spirit of Oriental despotism, for the power of the religious leader is apt to exceed that of the temporal one, and so, at various times, attempts have been made to curtail their influence. In the 16th century, Sultan Mauli Ismá'íl tried to suppress the Darwish Orders and failed. In the 17th century, Kouprouli Muḥammad Pasha, the able Vizier of Sultan Muḥammad IV., tried his best to ruin the Mauláwíyah, the Khalwatíyah, the Jalwatíyah and the Shamsíyah Orders, but did not succeed. In fact, he only showed the ultimate weakness of the Sultan's rule and largely increased the importance and power of the Orders he tried in vain to suppress. A still stronger man, Sultan Maḥmúd, in 1826, after suppressing the Janissaries, tried to break up the Order of the Bakhtáshíyah but failed.[1]

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[1] There was a close connection between the Janissaries and this Order. When Sultan Orkhan in 1328 created the Yenicherees (Janissaries), or New Troops, he sought some religious sanction for his action. The Shaikh of the

The head of the Order and his two chief officers were publicly executed, the abolition of the Order was proclaimed, many of its monasteries were demolished, and even the Darwishes connected with it were compelled to change their distinctive costume, but the Order survived and is powerful still. These men were not lacking in courage. One of them stopped Sultan Maḥmúd at the gate of Galata and seizing the bridle of his horse said:—"Giaour Padishah, art thou not yet content with abominations? Thou wilt answer to God for all thy godlessness. Thou art destroying the institutions of thy brethren, thou revilest Islám, and drawest the vengeance of the Prophet on thyself and on us." The Sultan called on his guard to put this 'fool' away. "I a fool," said the Darwish, "it is thou and thy worthless counsellors who have lost their senses. Muslims to the rescue!" This Darwish was executed the next day, and it is said that the following night a soft light was seen over his tomb. He is now venerated as a saint.

In Algiers, whenever, after a local insurrection, the French have destroyed the Záwiyahs of the Religious Orders, whose members helped to stir up strife, it has been found to be invariably the case that it has had no effect whatever in lessening either the number, or even the influence of the Darwishes; but has rather increased both.[1]

In Egypt the Darwishes are very numerous and are regarded with respect. In Turkey the people believe in them, for, on the whole, the sympathy of the Darwishes is with the masses. The upper classes fear them. Some of the Darwish leaders

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Bakhtáshíyahs blessed the troops by putting the sleeve of his robe on the head of one of the soldiers, in such a way that it hung down behind his back, and said:—"The militia which you have just created shall be called Yani cheree, its figures shall be fair and shining, its arm redoubtable, its sword sharp. It shall be victorious in all battles and ever return triumphant." In memory of this, the Janissaries wore a white felt cap, having a piece of the same material pendant on their backs. These troops were very closely attached to this Order, and this may have excited the animosity of Sultan Maḥmúd against it.

[1] Rinn's *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 109.

are broad-minded men, in spite of much about them that seems intolerant. On the other hand, the system affords opportunity for much that is low in morals, especially when the higher degrees are reached and the restraints of law are set aside: when creed and formulas are looked upon as fetters to the inspired and exalted soul.

The temporal power has some hold on the Orders. In Egypt the person who exercises on the part of the State that authority is called the Shaikhu'l-Bakri, and is always a descendant of the Khalif Abú Bakr. The Khalif 'Umr also has a representative who is the head of the Enáníyah Darwishes. The Khalif 'Usmán has none. The Khalif 'Ali has one called Shaikhu'l-Sádát, or Shaikh of the Seyyids. Each of these is said to be the "occupant of the sajjáda or the prayer carpet, of his ancestor." The head of an Order is also called the occupant of the sajjáda which belonged to the founder of it. This sajjáda is looked upon as a throne. In Turkey the Shaikhu'l-Islám exercises a certain amount of control over the heads of a Monastery, though he has probably little power with the actual head of the Order. Many of the Orders add to their prestige in the sight of the masses by the nobility of the origin of their founders, who were Sharífs, or lineal descendants of the Prophet.

The great enemies of the Orders are the 'Ulamá and the official clergy. The feeling is not unlike that between the secular and the monastic clergy in the middle ages. The 'Ulamá, in order to maintain their own prestige, oppose the Darwishes and appeal to the orthodox standards of the Faith; but the Darwishes do the same. The latter reproach the former with being mere time-servers, to which the retort is made that the Darwishes are heretical in doctrine and scandalous in practice. The mass of the Muslims, who care not for theological disputations, are attracted to the side of the Darwishes. They are not shocked at the dancing and the music; they look upon the Darwishes as the chosen of God, the favourites of heaven. Others again, who look upon some of their practices as

bordering on the profane, yet, on the whole, respect them. The ignorant man also sees that, though destitute of the education needed for an 'Ulamá, he may without it acquire in an Order a religious status and power equal to that attained to by his more orthodox and learned brother.[1]

With this general introduction we can now pass on to consider the constitution of the Orders in more detail. The organization of each is practically the same. The head of an Order is the spiritual heir of its founder, and is called the Shaikh. He is the Grand Master, and has unlimited power. He resides in one or other of the Záwiyahs, or Monasteries, belonging to the Order. He is looked up to with the greatest veneration; in fact absolute obedience to the Shaikh is the very essence of the system. "O my master, you have taught me that you are God and that all is God," says one disciple. The founder of the Basṭámíyah Order said:—"Glory be to me! I am above all things." The adoration of the Master too often takes the place of the worship of God, and the ideal life of a Darwish is one which is in absolute conformity to the will of the Shaikh. In every word and in every act the disciple must keep the Master present to his mind.

Subordinate to the Shaikh are the Muqaddims, who act under his orders and have certain functions allotted to them. A Muqaddim is placed in charge of each Záwiyah. In a diploma conferred by the Shaikh of the Qádiríyah Order on a Muqaddim, the instructions given to the members of the Order are that they should yield implicit obedience to the Muqaddim, who has the confidence of the chief of the Order; that they must not enter upon any enterprise without his knowledge. Obedience duly rendered to him is as obedience to the Shaikh, who is descended from the saint of saints, 'Abdu'l Qádir Jiláni.

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[1] "Un homme qui n'appartient pas à la caste religieuse voit, avec un profound sentiment d'orgueil, que grâce au concours de l'ordre auquel il appartient, il peut, sans instruction et malgré l'obscurité de sa naissance, acquérir un pouvoir religieux égal, et quelquefois bien supérieur, à celui des marabouts." Hanoteau et Letourneux, *Les Kabyles*, Vol. ii. p. 104.

From amongst the Ikhwán, or brethren of the Order, certain persons are selected as assistants to the Muqaddim. These are known as the Wakíl, who has charge of the property and funds of the Záwiyah, and the Raqqáb, who is employed as a courier to carry despatches. In connection with the assemblies of the members, the Muqaddim has the following officials under his charge. The Chá'ush, or leader; the Maddáḥ, or precentor; the Qaṣṣád, or chanters of the elegies[1]; the 'Allám or standard bearers and the Suqáh, or water carriers. All these employments are sought after by the Brethren, and the occupations attached to them are performed seriously and as a grave religious duty.

Then comes the general body of the simple members of the Order. They are called the Ikhwán, or brothers; Aṣḥáb,[2] or companions; whilst the generic term Darwish covers all. Muríd, disciple, is a common term and the one we shall henceforth use. The spiritual guide is called a Pír.

Outside of all these are what may be termed the Associates or the ordinary members, who are the lay members of the Order. They do not live in the Záwiyahs, though they are open to them. Still they are in possession of secret signs and words, by the use of which they can always get the protection of the community. They do not make use of the Ẕikr, or peculiar religious ceremony, of the Order, but use its rosary. Their allegiance to it is often more political than religious.

The founders of these Orders were strictly orthodox; that is, they not only followed the Qurán, but accepted the Sunnat—the record preserved in the Traditions of the Prophet's words and deeds—as a divine rule of faith and practice. Certain sayings of the Prophet himself on this point were accepted by them as authoritative, such as, "Conform to my Sunnat. He

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[1] *i.e.*, قصيده

[2] They are subdivided into اصحاب الفتوى—Aṣḥábu'l Fatwá, or companions of the decree; اصحاب البساط—Aṣḥábu'l Bisáṭ, companions of the carpet; اصحاب الاشد—Aṣḥábu'l Ashad, companions of zeal; اصحاب اليد—Aṣḥábu'l Yad, companions of the hand.

who follows that shows that he loves me, he who does not is not a Muslim." The founders of the more modern Orders follow the special teaching of some famous theologian, who can show that his particular instruction was based on that of men of the earliest days of Islám. Their declared object is, by their efforts and pious practices, to bring the Faithful to the eternal blessing promised to all who walk in the "good way" revealed by Gabriel to Muḥammad, and who has also given to the founders of the Orders all knowledge concerning it. The Shaikhs, therefore, can now lead the disciple on step by step, to a pure and moral state, abounding in that spiritual perfection, which draws the creature to the Creator. Thus they maintain that their object in founding these Orders is the glory of God, the extension of Islám, and the salvation of men. They claim to be able to lead their disciples on by successive stages to such a state that they attain, or at least approximate, to spiritual perfection.

Then a supernatural origin is also claimed for many of the Orders. The members glory in this, the masses of the people freely admit it. Very often this is connected with the legends about Al-Khizr (Elias), who is said to have been the greatest saint of his age and to be still the intermediary between God and the founder of a Religious Order. As he did not die, he is supposed to be still actively employed and to give power to the religious devotee who attains to the dignity of Quṭb, a term to be explained later on. Owing to his miraculous translation, to his being transported from place to place by the spirit of God, to his investiture of Elisha with the prophetic office, it is said that Al-Khizr still retains and exercises great influence with men who rise to a high order of saintship. To them he unveils the future, confers the gifts of blessing (baraka), and gives supernatural powers (taṣarruf). It is this supposed supernatural character of the inception of an Order which gives it its great influence. All the members of it participate in this blessing, and in the abundance of spiritual good, transmitted from the founder of the Order, who entered

into secret and direct communication with Al-Khizr and with the Prophet. The Shaikh of an Order almost always nominates his successor.[1] He summons the chief Muqaddims and as many of the Muríds as he can conveniently gather together, and states that, after seeking the guidance of the Prophet, he has chosen a man who will maintain the traditions of their founder and the purity of their Order. In Constantinople certain Orders require the Sultan, or the Shaikhu'l Islám, to confirm the appointment thus made.

The Muqaddims are persons of much importance, and great care is taken in their selection. As a rule only such men are appointed to this office, who are acceptable to the brethren of the Order. One is placed in charge of each Záwiyah and is a sort of Abbot of a monastery. Besides these, other Muqaddims are placed in charge of the various missionary enterprises, or are engaged in diplomatic business in the interests of the Order. In Turkey the Mufti at Constantinople has the right to confirm the appointment of these men, and the Shaikhu'l Islám the power to remove one from his local charge.

Once or twice a year the Muqaddims meet in conference and consider questions relating to the well being of the Order. The state of each Záwiyah is gone into, its financial condition is examined, and all matters of business are attended to. The Shaikh issues from the conference pastoral letters to the brethren. Amulets and charms blessed by him are sold.[2] New

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1 Some, however, on the ground that the Prophet made no regulation on the subject of succession to supreme power, leave the election to the Muqaddims. In some cases the candidate must belong to the family of the founder of the order. Rinn's *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 60.

2 A le Chatelier writing of the Muslims in Western Africa says that they retain and use many of the pagan superstitions, charms and incantations. Hynoptism is also practised by the religious teachers. Thus the practice of Islám, though not its doctrines, has been largely influenced by its environment. He adds, "En tout cas, il ne s'agit là que de practiques. L'Islám, qui doit ses succès surtout à sa malléabilitié, s'est plié aux coutumes du pays, dans une certaine mesure. Mais sa doctrine n'a pu être influencée par les croyances fétichistes, qui n'existant que comme culte, comme tradition, n'ont rien d'un systéme philosophique" Chatelier's *L'Islám daus L'Afrique occidentale*, p. 313.

members are admitted into the Order, and when all is done the members disperse, after receiving the blessing of the Shaikh. This meeting is called the Ḥaẓrat, a word which means the Presence. On his return home each Muqaddim holds a synod of the brethren of his Záwiyah. He entertains them at a feast, and then gives an account of the proceedings of the conference and reads the pastoral letter. After this is over, the brethren, one after another, salute the Muqaddim and deposit an offering on the tray placed before them. This synod is called Jalál, the Glorious.

I have already stated that these Religious Orders claim to be strictly orthodox. Innovation in the sphere of dogma is considered to be heresy of the worst kind. They can trace their belief back through a long succession of holy men up to primitive times. These men are honoured by distinctive titles, according to their standard of saintliness.

The highest rank of all is that of Ghauṣ,[1] a man who, owing to the superabundance of his sanctity and the influence of his merits, is able to be the sin-bearer of the faithful, without in the least endangering his own salvation. He is very often, therefore, called the Ghauṣ'l'Álam, or 'Refuge of the World', or 'Defender of the World'.

Then come the men of the next rank who are called Quṭb,[2] or Axis. The title seems to imply that this saint is a centre of influence round which all the greatness and the real grandeur of the world revolve. He has attained to such a degree of sanctity that he reflects to the general body of believers the heart of the Prophet himself. The one most pre-eminent in his day is called the Quṭbu'l Waqt—the Axis of the Age. It is said that the founders of the Rufá'íyah, Qádiríyah, Aḥmadíyah, and Barahim Orders were respectively the Quṭb of their respective ages. It is alleged that the Quṭb often appears in the world, but that men do not know him as such. He has certain favoured stations where he appears, such as the roof of the

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[1] غوث

[2] قطب

Ka'ba in Mecca, one of the gates of old Cairo, and other places. It is believed that he can in a moment transfer himself from place to place; but he usually wanders about the world, awarding good or evil, as the destiny of the recipient may be, through the agency of Walís, or saints, subordinate to himself.

The Autád[1] is the name given to holy men of influence in a country, or is applied in a mystical sense to those who know God. It has somewhat the meaning of Arkán, or pillars, in such a term as Arkán-i-daulat—pillars of the State. They are four in number.

Then come the Khaiyyár, a word derived from khair (good) and signifying an excellent man. They are seven in number and are constantly travelling about, spreading the light of Islám.

Another class are the Abdál[2]—the Changeable. Their hearts are so purified that no vice dwells in them and so they are said to be 'changed'. In consideration of their merit, God preserves and blesses the world. They are seventy in number, of whom forty reside in Syria and thirty elsewhere. When one dies God appoints his successor; but no one knows who these Abdál are or where they reside. This is known to God only. Then follow the Najíb, who is an assistant to the Muqaddim, and the Naqíb or chief.

Walí, or friend of God, is a title given to a holy man after his death. These saints are highly venerated, and this reverence paid to them is based on a verse of the Qurán: "Verily on the favourites of God no fear shall come, neither shall they grieve."[3] The word for favourites is Auliyá, the plural form of Walí. They are supposed to have the power of working miracles, and pilgrimages to their tombs are common.

These various classes of holy men exist to demonstrate the authenticity of the Qurán and the veracity of the Prophet. They have great influence over the course of events in the world. It is said to be by their blessing that fruitful seasons

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1 The plural form of وتد watd, a prop or pillar.

2 Plural form of بديل

3 Súra x. 63.

come round, that the earth yields its increase, that Muslims are victorious over their foes. This great power they gain by the care with which they observe the Sunnat, or the traditions of the Prophet's words and deeds, and by the absolute abnegation of their own will and wishes.

The Shaikhs, or Grand Masters of the Orders, are very skilful in dealing with new converts, and show great discernment in adapting their instruction to the various classes of men with whom they have to deal. On some general points there is much strictness and sameness. All must absolutely obey the Shaikh, keep secret the affairs of the Order, and be loyal to it; but beyond that the teaching and discipline varies. A very religious-minded disciple is directed to observe the most minute details of the ritual acts of worship, a superstitious one has talismans and charms given to him. The mystic finds satisfaction in the religious ecstasy to which his devotions lead; the learned and philosophical are charmed with the religious speculations opened up to them; whilst the weak and oppressed find, as members of an Order, the support of a powerful association. The neophyte gains admission to and promotion in an Order very slowly, and only after a long ascetic training. At first he is only a Talmíz, a disciple; then a Muríd, an aspirant; then a Faqír, poor in the mystical sense. At this stage he learns that he possesses nothing, even his existence is as if it were not. He now enters upon the Ṭaríq, or path, and sees visions and has supernatural revelations. Thus he becomes a Sálik, a traveller on the mystical road, but many pass on to still higher stages of life and become Majzúb, the attracted—that is, they are powerfully drawn by God to Himself and are illuminated and inspired. The life of such an one is wholly spiritual and not material, and the outward rites of religion are no longer needed. He is so absorbed in the contemplation of God that he passes on to the state of Tauḥíd (unity), and is identified with the Supreme and so loses all sense of separate existence. Not all Darwishes attain to these higher degrees; they are reserved for the few alone.

From all this it will be seen that the initiation of a novice is a matter of great importance.[1] The method differs slightly in some of the Orders; but the chief ceremonies and the main principles underlying them have much in common. The aspirant for the honour must prepare himself by a fast, a spiritual retreat, prayer and alms-giving. After he has been instructed for some days in the general nature of the obligations he will have to bear, the novice is brought into the assembly of the Darwishes by two of their number and there introduced to the Muqaddim, or to the Shaikh, if he is present. He then swears that he will be loyal to the Order and will yield absolute obedience to his spiritual superior. He then makes a full profession of the creed of Islám and repeats the names of the seven attributes of God. He is then admitted into the Order, and is taught the Zikr, or special form of prayer used by it. The whole assembly then recites the Fátiḥáh, or opening chapter of the Qurán, and the newly admitted brother receives from and gives to each of his brethren the kiss of peace. In some Orders the ceremony is soon over; in others it is spread over a long period of time. In the Mauláníyah and the Bakhtáshíyah and some others, the novitiate extends to a thousand and one days, during which time the novice has to perform the humblest domestic duties, and is put to severe proofs to test his capacity for obedience and his spirit of humility. Absolute surrender of the individual will is necessary. Thus, "thou shalt be in the hands of thy Shaikh as a corpse is in the hands of those who prepare it for burial.[2] God speaks to thee through him.

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[1] The following is given as a direction by the Shaikh Sanúsi. "Lorsque l'adepte est d'une nature vulgaire, il convient qu'il ne soit initié aux préceptes que progressivement, aussi ne faut-il lui imposer que des prières faciles, jusqu' à ce que son âme soit fortifiiée et affermie par degrés. Alors on augmente l'enseignment en y ajoutant des invocations par le Prophete......lorsque les fruits produits par la pratique de l'invocation dite du zikr et par une foi profounde, ont effacé les impuretés de l'âme, lorsque par les yeux du cœur, on ne voit, dans ce monde et dans l'autre, que l'Etre unique, alors on peut aborder la prière, etc.". Rinn's *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 90.

[2] كون بين يدي شيخك كمثل الجسد بين يدي الغاسل

Thou art his slave and thou canst do nothing without his order. He is a man chosen of God. Banish from thy heart any thought to which God or the Shaikh might object." Another famous teacher says:—"In the same way as a sick person ought not to hide anything from his doctor, so thou mayst not conceal from the Shaikh thy thoughts or words or actions." "The image of the Shaikh must be ever present to the disciple."

Sometimes as part of the initiation the Shaikh touches the head of the novice and breathes into his ear the words Lá iláha illa'lláh, which he has then to repeat 101, 151, or 301 times. This is called the Talqín. The novice then retires, spends much time in meditation alone, and falls into a dreamy condition. This is called Khilwat. He has to report his dreams to the Shaikh, who then breathes a second time into his ear the words, Yá Alláh, O God, and the other names of God. This goes on for forty days or so, when the novice becomes a Muríd, or disciple.

In addition to the duties involved in renunciation of the world, retreats, watchings and fasting, the Ikhwán must observe the Ziárat, the Hadia and the Zikr. A Ziárat is a religious visitation for the purpose of collecting funds when the revenue of the Order falls short. A regular assessment is made which the Muqaddim collects through the agency of the Chá'ush. The poorer persons suffer from this, often without a murmur, saying, "It is to God and not to man" we give. In Algiers the impost has been, with good results, regulated by the French Government; but in Morocco where there are no such restrictions, the Muqaddim lays heavy burdens on the people. "The rapacity of the religious chiefs are a principal cause of the misery which permanently exists in most of the Muslim States, and especially in Morocco, where the representatives of the religious Orders abound." [1]

The Hadia is an expiatory offering made by the Ikhwán

[1] Rinn's *Marabouts et Khouans*, p. 94.

for the infraction of some rule, or the neglect of some duty. It is also a kind of tribute which the Muqaddim exacts from the chiefs of the local tribes and which few, owing to their fear of assassination or other injury, are bold enough to refuse.

The Ẕikr [1] is a most important part of the daily life of a Darwish. [2] There are various forms of it. It may be recited aloud, in which case it is called Ẕikr-i-jali: or mentally or in a very low voice, in which case it is called Ẕikr-i-k͟hafi. The Naqshbandi Darwishes adopt the former, the Chishtíyah and Qádiríyah Orders the latter. A Ẕikr-i-jali is as follows. The worshipper sitting down in the usual way shouts out Alláh; then, sitting as if for prayers, again in a louder voice says Alláh; then folding his legs under him he shouts yet louder Alláh. Then sitting again in the attitude for prayer he shuts his eyes and shouts Lá, drawing the sound from his navel; then he says Iláha as from the head; and lastly Illa'lláh from the left side. All this is called a Ẓarb, and is repeated hundreds of times on each occasion.

The Darwish who makes Ẕikr-i-k͟hafi, closes his eyes, and with the tongue of the heart, says:—

First, from his stomach, Alláhu Samí'un—God the hearer;
Second, from his breast, Alláhu Baṣírun—God the seer;
Third, from his head, Alláhu 'Álimun—God the knower.

He keeps on going over these names backwards and forwards, not audibly but mentally, saying them to himself in an ascending and descending scale. Then in a very low tone of voice,

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[1] The origin of this frequent act of worship is to be found in Súra xxxiii, 40. "O Believers! remember God with frequent remembrance and praise him morning and evening"—

يآيها الذين امنوا اذكروا الله ذكراً كثيراً و سبحوه بكرةً واصيلا

The commentator 'Abdu'lláh bin 'Abbás says that اذكروا means "Remember with tongue and heart;" and that سبحوه is equivalent to "say the namáz." The Darwishes say that كثيرا, frequent, means that the Ẕikr is to be repeated often.

[2] La ziara remplet la caisse, et le ẕikr maintient l'habitude de la discipline et de la soumission." Rinn's *Marabout et Khouan*, p. 107.

as if from his right knee and left side, he says Alláh: then he exhales breath and says, whilst so doing, Lá iláha, and then inhales breath saying Illa'lláh. This Ẓarb is repeated hundreds of times and is most exhausting. By long practice a Darwish attains great control over his breathing, and it is said of one man that he used to say Lá iláha exhaling his breath, at the midday prayer, and Illa'lláh, inhaling his breath at the afternoon prayer. Thus he held his breath for, at least, three hours.

Sometimes there is a meditation on certain verses of the Qurán, as, "He is the First. He is the Last. The Manifest: The Hidden"[1] "He is with you wherever you go"[2] "We (God) are closer to him (man) than the veins of his neck[3] "Whichever way ye turn, there is the face of God"[4] "God encompasseth all things."[5]

The Ẕikr is said to produce union of the heart and the tongue in the act of saying the name of God. A Muríd ought to say a Ẕikr three times in one breath and so impress it on his heart, which is thus kept constantly occupied with the thought of God. Similar exercises to the Ẕikr are the Tasbíḥ, saying Subḥánu'lláh—holiness to God; the Taḥmíd, Al ḥamdu'lláh—praise to God; and the Takbír, Alláhu Akbar—God is great. Muḥammad is reported to have said that he who repeats the Tasbíḥ one hundred times morning and evening will have all his sins forgiven. It is by the use of Ẕikr, by retiring from men (Khilwat) for devotional purposes, by Tawajjuh, or turning the face towards God devoutly in prayer, by the Muráqabbah, or contemplating God with fear, by the Taṣarruf, or mystical spiritualism, that the fervent Darwish gains the spiritual internal powers—the quwat-i-rúḥi-wa-báṭini—which enable him to subdue the will of others. It is said of two Shaikhs, in illustration of this, that one day they saw some wrestlers equally matched, and they determined to will that one particular man should gain the victory. He did so and

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[1] Súra lvii. 3. [2] Súra lvii. 4. [3] Súra 1. 15.
[4] Súra ii. 109. [5] Súra iv. 125.

then they willed that the defeated man should conquer, and in turn he did so. The mechanical repetition, consecutive and prolonged, of the few words in the Ẕikr naturally weakens the personal will of the Darwish, and deadens his intellect. It produces a morbid state of mind in which he is easily and blindly led by the stronger will of his religious superiors. In fact the whole system is so developed that individuality is crushed out and the Order is exalted. The Shaikh is the one absolute will, and all not only venerate but implicitly follow him.

There are altogether eighty-eight Religious Orders.[1] The first came into existence in the first year of the Ḥijra and the last was founded in 1293 A. H.—1876 A. D. It is said that the Khalif Abú Bakr first called men to a sort of common life.[2] A short account will now be given of a few of the most important Orders.

The Ṣidíqíyah Order takes its name from the word Ṣidíq[3]—the righteous—a title given to Abú Bakr, and it exists to this day in Yemen, in Egypt, and in small numbers in Algiers. Its chief principle is said to be the profound contemplation of the person and virtues of the Prophet. The result of this is that the Prophet will appear to a darwish of this Order in all times of difficulty, and in his hours of ecstasy. The joy of this is so great that it can be known only by experience. The religious exercises are continued by the pious members until the soul of Muḥammad appears to them in sleep and in their

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1 The names of the founders of these Orders, with dates, are given by Rinn in *Marabouts et Khouan*, pp. 26-51.

2 The Basṭamíyah, the Naqshbandíyah, and the Bakhtáshíyah Orders claim to have descended from the Ṣidíqíyah community founded by Abú Bakr. The Uwaisíyah, the Adhamíyah, the Qádiríyah, the Jamadíayah and the Sanúsíyah Orders connected themselves with the Khalif 'Umr and also with the Khalif 'Ali to whom all the other Orders look up as their original head. Each Order has its silsilah, or chain of succession, up to one of these Khalifs.

3 An Order is always called by the adjective formed from the name of its founder.

waking hours, to nourish them and to lead them on to heights of spiritual perfection.

In the thirty-seventh year of the Ḥijra, a recluse named Uwaisu'l Karani announced that Gabriel had appeared to him in a dream, and revealed to him the constitution of an Order to be started on strictly ascetic principles. Uwais carried his veneration for the Prophet so far as to extract his teeth, because Muḥammad had lost two at the battle of Ohod. Uwais then required his followers to do the same. The prophet had a great regard for Uwais and commanded that his own mantle should be given to him. It was made of wool with a collar and long sleeves reaching to the knee. It is said to be still preserved in Constantinople by a descendant of Uwais. Once a year it is carried in procession to the Old Seraglio. The mantles of the Darwish Orders are made after the fashion of this—the Kherka-i-Sharíf.[1] This Order known as the Uwaisíyah, has not spread beyond Arabia.

The first Order with special rules and distinctive religious exercises is the Alwáníyah, founded by Shaikh Alwán in 149 A.H.—766 A.D. He was the first to make formal rules for the initiation of a novice and to regulate the duties of the spiritual directors and the Muríds. The whole system in its present form may be said to date from the time of this Shaikh.

The Basṭámíyah Order was founded by a Persian about 261 A.H.—874 A.D. and traces its connection up to the Khalif 'Ali. Súfi doctrines are taught in it. Abú Bayazid Basṭámi, its founder, is looked up to as a saint by the Shaikhs of many of the most famous Orders.

The Qádiríyah, founded by 'Abdu'l Qádir Jiláni of Baghdad in 561 A.H.—1165 A.D., is one of the largest and most respected Orders. The banner and the turbans of this Order are white. It is found in the northern parts of India on the one side and in Algiers on the other. The great revival of religion

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[1] For an interesting account of the dress, caps, &c., of Darwishes, see *The Darwishes*, by J. P. Brown, pp. 86-93.

at the beginning of the 19th century, probably due to the Wahhábi movement in Arabi, stirred up the members of this Order to great activity. Throughout the Western Súdán, small scattered communities of the Qádiríyah were to be found, and, now stirred up by a missionary spirit, they became active amongst their heathen neighbours and have made great progress[1] by their pacific propaganda. In fact, this Order and that of a more modern and a warlike one, the Tijáníyah, have been the principal agents in the extraordinary advance of Islám in the Western and Central Súdán in modern times. As Sanúsi was once one of the members of this Order. 'Abdu'l Qádir, its founder, is represented as being a man of large heart and charitable feelings, and his Order was founded "not only to improve by its mystical teaching the corrupt morals of Muslims, but also to relieve the miseries of men, to comfort the afflicted and to aid the very poor by alms." One of the Muqaddims of the Order has said that "if God had not sent Muḥammad to be the seal of the prophets, He would have sent 'Abdu'l Qádir, for he, by his virtues and charity, most of all men resembles Jesus Christ." He is called the Saint of Saints —the Qutbu'l Qutúb, and the Ghauṣu'l Á'zam—the greatest Defender. It is said that his soul hovers now between earth and heaven, and that God always answers his prayer made on behalf of others. No saint equals him in the power of working miracles, nor are such marvellous stories told of any other.

The Zikr of this Order is a very long one. The novice, however, on admission has only to add to the namáz, or five obligatory prayers, the repetition 165 times of the creed, Lá iláha illa 'lláhu. One form used by the most spiritually advanced members is to recite the Fatiḥáh with the intention

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[1] This is confirmed by the latest writer on the subject, who writing in 1899 says:—"Par l' instruction qu'ils donnent à leurs disciples, par les colonies qu'ils fondent de tout côté, les adeptes de l' Islám mystique multiplient dans le Soudan païen leurs centres d'action." Chatelier's *L'Islám dans L'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 254.

that the reward for it shall go to the Prophet and to 'Abdu'l Qádir; to repeat 121 times the words, 'O God, bless our Lord Muḥammad and his family"; then 121 times "Glory be to God. Praise be to God. There is no God but He. God is great. There is no power except in the Lord Most High"; then 121 times "O Shaikh Abdu'l Qádir, something for God"; 100 times the Súra xxxvi.; 41 times Súra lxxii.; 121 times Súra cx.; 8 times the Súratu'l Fatiḥáh; then once the Súratu'l Ikhláṣ cxii.; and finally three times the words, "God bless the Prophet."[1] This Order is widely dispersed and is one of the most tolerant. It endeavours to get on with rulers and with men in high positions; it stimulates their charity and seeks their aid. The authority exercised by the Shaikh is very complete. At the time of the initiation of a novice, the Shaikh taking his hand and placing it between his arms, says:—"In the name of God most merciful, most clement. I believe in God, in His Angels, in His book, in His Prophet, in the day of judgment, in His decrees, in His favours, in His punishments, and in the resurrection from the dead." To this the novice replies:—"I am a Muslim, and I am confirmed in my worship and in my faith. I purify myself by a sincere repentance, from all my sins. I repudiate all heresy. There is no God but God, and Muḥammad is His servant and apostle. It is from him I receive admission into this Order. I take the oath of fidelity. I engage to obey all the divine laws, to do all things as in the sight of God, to accept what He may be pleased to send me and to thank Him for troubles which may oppress me." Other ceremonies follow and a long list of questions is put,[2] after which, when they have been satisfactorily answered, the novice is admitted into the Order.

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[1] To each Zikr the following words are added استغفر الله and also,

اللهم صلى الله سيدنا محمد النّبى الامى.

Rinn's *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 184.

A special attitude in prayer is adopted by members of this Order. *Ibid*, p. 185.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 190-196.

The Rufá'íyah, often called the Howling Darwishes, belong to an Order founded in 578 A. H.—1182 A. D., by Aḥmad Ar-Rufá'i of Baghdad. He is considered to have been a theologian of great repute. The banners and turbans of this Order are black. The members of the Order make fires which they extinguish by rolling on the burning coals, and they even eat live coals and glass, and swallow serpents, or appear to do so. In Mecca their agents are active, and they are very hostile to Europeans.[1] Lane describes a scene he witnessed in Cairo thus: "A Darwish took a large piece of live coal, placed it between his teeth, and kept it there; then drew it on his tongue, and, keeping his mouth wide open for two minutes, violently inhaled and exhaled, showing the inside of his mouth like a furnace and breathing out sparks. Having chewed and swallowed the coal he sat down, without apparently having suffered any pain."[2]

The Chistíyah Order was founded by Muinu'd-din Chisti in 636 A.H.—1238 A.D. He was a disciple of 'Abdu'l Qádir Jiláni. The members of this Order are mostly Shí'ahs. They are fond of music and perform the Ẕikr-i-jali.

The Sháẕilíyah Order[3] was founded in 656 A. H.—1258 A.D., and is spread through most Muslim lands. It flourishes in Egypt and in Algiers. It has given rise to many branches which now form separate Orders. Its doctrines are held by almost all the modern Orders. The Sanúsíyah are affiliated to it.[4] The founder, Abu Madian, was a mystic, deeply versed in Ṣúfiistic lore. To this advanced spiritualism he added great

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[1] For the special prayers used by this Order, see *The Darwishes*, by Brown, pp. 114-124.

[2] Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. ii., p. 190.

[3] The name is taken from the third Shaikh of the Order, Abú Ḥasanu'sh Sháẕil, a man of great reputation as a moralist, juriconsult and theologian.

[4] For the account of the ritual of the worship and of the initiation of a novice, see Rinn's *Marabouts et Khouan*, pp. 247-251.

modesty of manner and a ready eloquence, which helped to make him one of the most influential men of his age. The early chiefs of the Order, worthy disciples of their great master, took little interest in worldly affairs, and were really the heads of a mystical philosophical school, and one of the instructions of Shážil was "obey your Shaikh before you obey your temporal sovereign." Many of the Orders derived from it have made practical changes, and devote less time to mystical studies and more to practical ones; but they all form a very great social and religious power.

The Mauláwíyah, often called the dancing Darwishes, are the most popular Order in the Turkish Empire. They are famous for their music and their mystic dance, which consist chiefly of whirling round and round. This is said to represent the revolution of the spheres and also the circling movement of the soul, caused by the vibrations of its love to God. They say their prayers in silence, standing up and turning round from east to west. Their religious performances are to be seen in Constantinople and in Cairo. The Order was founded in 672 A. H.—1273 A. D. by Mauláná Jalálu'd din Rúmi. It is a very wealthy Order. There is in it a singular union of austere practices, political obsequiousness to the Sultan, and frivolous ceremonies. The Shaikh of the Order must be a descendant of its founder.

The Naqshbandíyah Order was founded in 719 A. H.—1319 A.D. It is a very large and important Order and is found chiefly in Asia and in Turkey. It attracts men of high social position and of learning. They generally perform the Zikr-i-khafi, or silent devotions. In addition to this each member must daily recite the prayer for forgiveness, or Istighfár, once; the Salámat, or prayer for peace, seven times; the Fatiḥáh seven times; Súra xciv., nine times; Súra cxii., once, and then the appointed Zikr an indefinite number of times. The conformity of its teaching to that of the Khalif Abú Bakr, the dignity of its outward ceremonial, the high class of persons affiliated to it are amongst the causes which give this Order a very high place

in the esteem and regard with which other Darwishes look upon it.[1]

The Qalandaríyah, or wandering Darwishes, were founded as an Order by Qalandar Yúsúf, a native of Spain,[2] in 724 A.H.—1232 A.D. He was, at first, a member of the Bakhtáshíyah Order from which he was dismissed. He then founded an Order of his own. The statutes of the Order oblige its members to live on charity, to be always on the move, and not to amass wealth for themselves. They are practically Súfis. The Order exists in India, Persia and Turkey. Their Zikr contains a prayer for the Founder and certain passages from the Qurán[3], repeated many times, and concludes with the Darúd, a prayer for blessing on Muhammad and his family, which is said twice. The Qalandar Darwish is a well known character in Eastern tales.

The Bakhtáshíyah Order was founded by Háji Bakhtásh in 759 A.H.—1357 A.D., and is famous in Turkey owing to its connection with the Janissaries. It is very popular with the army still.[4] The symbol of the Order is the mystic girdle which is put on and off seven times. The Darwish in so doing, says:—

(1) I tie up greediness and unbind generosity;
(2) I tie up avarice and unbind piety;
(3) I tie up anger and unbind meekness;
(4) I tie up ignorance and unbind the fear of God;

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[1] Amongst other means for destroying the sense of individuality, the following is given:—"The becoming absorbed in the spirit of the Shaikh is profitable only to him to whom the ecstatic state comes naturally. To attain that object, one must engrave in his own spirit the image of his Shaikh and look upon it as on his right shoulder. Then from the shoulder to the heart, he will draw a line along which the spirit of the Shaikh can come and take possession of his heart." Rinn's *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 286.

[2] Some authors say he was born at Panipat in Hindustan.

[3] The Fátíhah, or the opening chapter, of the Qurán; Súra ii, 256 three times; Súra lxxxiii three times: Súra xii, ten times.

[4] *Ante* p. 101.

(5) I tie up passion and unbind the love of God;
(6) I tie up hunger and unbind (spiritual) contentment;
(7) I tie up the influence of Satan and unbind the influence of the Divine.

Their esoteric doctrines are a curious mixture of pantheism and materialism, and are thus described:—"Each human soul is a portion of divinity which exists only in man. The eternal soul, served by perishable mediums, constantly changes its dwelling without quitting the earth. Morality consists in enjoying the good things of earth without injury to any one. Whatever causes no ill to a person is lawful. The wise man is he who regulates his pleasures, for joy is a science which has degrees, made known, little by little, to the initiated. Contemplation is the best of all joys, for it belongs to the celestial vision."

The more recent Orders are to be found in Timbuktu, Algiers and Morocco, and are generally speaking offshoots from the older ones, especially from the Shá<u>z</u>ilíyah. Amongst the more important of them are the following.

The Bakkayíah has its centre in Timbuktu. It was founded by Aḥmadu'l Bakkay in 960 A.H.—1552 A.D. It is an offshoot of the Shá<u>z</u>ilíyah Order and has considerable influence south of Morocco.

The Shai<u>kh</u>íyah Order was founded in 1013 A.H.—1604 A.D. and is powerful in the southern part of Algeria. It is more political than religious.

The Karzazíyah Order was founded in 1016 A.H.—1607 A.D. The founder, a member of the royal family of Morocco, had been a Muqaddim of the Shá<u>z</u>ilíyah Order. He taught his followers to reject reason as it was a guide to error, to place absolute confidence in the Shai<u>kh</u>, to meet death boldly, and to be ever ready to fight in the cause of God. The leaders adopted an ascetic life and assumed a voluntary poverty. This caused them to be held in great esteem. The Muqaddims are chosen by the members of the Order. It is spread over the East and South of Morocco.

The Hansalíyah Order was founded in 1114 A.H.—1702 A.D. by Sayyed bin Yúsúfu'l Hansali, a man born in Morocco. After the pilgrimage to Mecca, Hansali studied for awhile at the Al Azhar University in Cairo; but the toil and fatigue of the journey home made him forget all he had learnt. So he led an ascetic life, and spent a long time in constant devotion at a shrine of a famous saint, with the result that his memory returned to him. The influence of this Order is very great amongst the Berbers of the Atlas Mountains. In addition to the Zikr, the Ikhwán recite some portions of a famous poem on the ninety-nine names of God. The following are a few verses on ten of the names.[1]

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[1] سالتك يا غفار غفرا و توبة * و بالقهر يا قهار خذ من تحيلا
بعزك قدری يا عزيز معزّز * مذل فكن للظالمين مذلّلا
و هب لی يا وهاب علماً و حكمة * و للرزق يا رزاق كن لی مسهّلا
و يا قابض اقبض روح كل معاند * و يا باسطَ النعما زدنی تجملا
و يا خافِض اخفض قدر كل معارض * و يا رافع ارفعنی علی رغم من قلا

1. O Pardoning God, I cry to Thee,
   Thy Pardon to implore;
   O Sovereign Lord, subdue thro' me
   Who e'er subverts Thy law.

2. Thy glory, Glorious Being, doth
   My feeble strength increase;
   O Thou who humblest in the dust,
   Cause lying tongues to cease.

3. Knowledge and understanding give,
   O, Giver of all, to me;
   Sustainer, for my sustenance
   I look for ease from Thee.

4. The souls of all Thine enemies,
   O Seizer of spirits, seize;
   O Scatterer of gifts, increase desire
   In beauty's devotees.

5. O Humbler, humble Thou the power
   Of all who Thee oppose;
   O Thou who raisest, raise me up
   In spite of these my foes.

The amulets they prepare have a great reputation for preserving the wearers in safety in times of accidents, but they are scarce and difficult to obtain. They get on very well with the French, but there are only five Záwiyahs in Algeria.

The Tijáníyah Order was founded in 1196 A.H.—1781 A.D. by Si Aḥmad bin Mukhtáru't Tijáni, who for a time was a student in the important Muḥammadan University of Fez. In 1186 A.H. he made the pilgrimage to Mecca where he astonished the theologians by his erudition and knowledge. Five years after he returned to Fez and the idea of founding an Order began to take shape in his mind; but Fez was a place too much given up to political and religious strife for such an attempt and so he moved further south. In due time he announced to a small body of devoted followers that the Prophet had directed him to form an Order, different to all others. For instance, no member of it was permitted, under pain of the severest penalties, to become affiliated to another Order. An earnest propaganda followed and the Order soon became exceedingly powerful in Tunis, in the Sahara, the Western Súdán, and as far even as Timbuktu. The chief Záwiyah was, in due time, located in Fez under the patronage of the then Moorish Emperor. The Order has been a militant[1] as well as a teaching one. Háji 'Umr, one of its leaders, in 1833 went to Bornu and then to the Hausa country. He was a man of great vigour and very fanatical. He reproached the ordinary Muslims with their ignorance and their apathy. Even the Qádiríyah were too tolerant for him. Under his influence the Order extended its operations from Senegal to Timbuktu, and as far south as the Hinterland of Sierra Leone.[2] The kingdom he thus set up soon after split up into various smaller states, but the influence of Islám remained. Thus, this Order, a result of the active revival of Islám at the end of the eighteenth

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[1] For an account of its wars, see Chatelier's *L'Islám dans L'Afrique Occidentale* p. 167.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 176.

century, has done perhaps more to advance the cause of Muḥammadanism in Western Africa than any other one has accomplished, and it is still a living power; but since the establishment of French influence in the Senegal and in the Niger regions, the political power of the Tijáníyah Order has declined. The European occupation of these regions will stay any further political influence and development.

The two Orders, the Qádiríyah and the Tijáníyah have played the chief part in the propagation of Islám in the Western Súdán.[1] Under the Qádiríyah the propaganda was by peaceful methods. By the instruction its leaders gave to their disciples, by the colonies they founded, they multiplied in the Súdán their chief centres of action. They are widely scattered. Their followers are found as far south as Sierra Leone and in the Upper Niger regions.[2]

The Tijáníyah, as we have seen, pursued opposite methods and so long as they had the power, won their way by force.[3]

The Raḥmáníyah Order was founded by another native of Morocco, Muḥammad bin 'Abdu'r Raḥmán, in 1208 A.H.—1793 A.D. He too was for a while a student in the Al Azhar College. This Order has great influence in the Súdán. It also has in Algeria two hundred and twenty Záwiyahs, seven hundred and fifty-four Muqaddims and ninety-six thousand members. The 'Ulamá of Algiers, jealous of this new Order, tried to convict its founder of heterodoxy, but failed. This attempt and failure increased his authority very much. In the chief Záwiyah the Ikhwáns keep up, by means of relays, day and night, the repetition in a loud voice of the name of God.

I have now given a brief description of some of the older Orders and of some of the more modern ones, which owe their

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[1] Chatelier's *L'Islam dans L'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 318.

[2] Tout le mouvement religieux du Sudan Occidentale se trouve ainsi dirígé par les influences Kadriyennes, pendant le prèmiere moitié du siècle. *Ibid*, p. 166.

[3] Chatelier speaks of them as, "Ardent aux guerres saintes," and the Qádiríyah he calls "pacifique et debonnaire" *Ibid*, p. 345.

existence to the great wave of religious revival which, stimulated no doubt by the Wahhábi movement in Arabia, passed over the Muslim communities in Africa and led on to an active propaganda. Islám as a theocratic system does not recognise the limitations made by political influences between the various Muslim peoples, dividing them into different States, and so these Orders, common to all lands, can at any time and everywhere exercise a very real influence in any direction which their leaders may choose.

For many centuries Islám has prevailed not only on the northern coast of Africa but has progressed in the interior. Still, the great advance is to be dated from the end of the 18th century, or the beginning of the 19th, and has been mainly due to the increased energy and devotion of the Religious Orders. Now the whole Hinterland from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, as far south as six degrees north latitude, and the country on the eastern side of Africa down to the Portuguese territory is more or less under Muḥammadan influence. Islám has passed also from the Súdán into the equatorial regions. It extends from two centres. From the west it has gone along the Atlantic coast to Senegal, Timbuktu and the Hausa land. From the eastern side the modern movement began when Sí Aḥmad bin Idris, the Shaikh of the Qádiríyah Order, sent out missionaries, during the early part of the 19th century. They won over the Nubians who joined this Order in large numbers, and then missionary work began amongst the pagans of Kordufan. This work was afterwards carried on under the influence of the Mahdi, and is now sustained by the great Sanúsíyah Order. These two currents, the one on the east, at one time more warlike and fanatical; the other on the west more commercial, are advancing rapidly into all the pagan regions. The presence of the officials of the great European Powers in Senegal, Timbuktu, Nigeria and other parts will have a deterrent effect on this expansion, for trade will no longer be in the hands of Muslim merchants, who, to their credit be it said, are active Missionaries. One article of commerce also, that of slaves, will no longer exist.

Amongst the earlier agents of this extensive movement are the Fulahs, the most superior race in the Western Súdán. They are strict Muslims and under Shaikh Danfodio, about a hundred years ago, became a powerful kingdom, warlike and aggressive. They spread to the west and to the south, won many of the Hausa people to Islám, made Sokoto, in 1837, the capital of a Muḥammadan State, then advanced as far as the Yoruba country and built the large city of Ilorin. Four large and important kingdoms in Senegambia and the Súdán represent the result of the energy infused into the Fulah people by Shaikh Danfodio. All this is not to be looked upon as a permanent gain for civilisation, for a recent French writer, though speaking chiefly of Northern Africa, well says:—"It is impossible when comparing the present state of Africa with its former state not to see how evil the influence of Islám has been, and not to desire that it may shortly give place to a political system less limited and less demoralising."[1] Another French author says:—"The mystical and merciless doctrines of Islám are the absolute enemies of all progress. The East remains immobile."[2]

The most recent and, indeed, the chief present propaganda is carried on by an Order which surpasses all the others in its power and its influence; an Order, which specially sets itself against all western and modern civilisation and so constitutes a very real danger. It is that of the Sanúsíyah, founded by Sí Muḥammad bin Sí 'Ali bin Sanúsi, who was born in the year 1206 A. H.—1791 A. D.[3] He belonged to a noble family and claimed to be descended from the Khalif 'Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet. The name by which he is usually known is that of Shaikh Sanúsi. He was a native of Algiers, where he spent the early part of his life. At the age of thirty

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1 Ganniers' *Le Maroc*, p. 87.

2 Frisch's, *Le Maroc* p. 47.

3 "The predominant fact in the evolution of Islám at the present time is the formation of the new Order of the Sanúsíyah." Chatelier's *Les Confréres Musulmanes*, p. 12.

he went to Fez, and for about seven years studied Muḥammadan law and theology under the most famous teachers there. He also became acquainted with the philosophy and the mysteries of the Sháziliyah Order. He then returned to Algiers just before the French occupied that country. Whilst there he wandered about as a religious teacher and so spread his views amongst a number of people. After a while he made up his mind to proceed on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and took the opportunity of conversing with learned men at the several places at which he stayed on the way. He was also initiated into some of the Religious Orders. He intended to make a stay of some length in Cairo, in order to study at the famous Theological College of Al Azhar; but, in some way or other, he gave offence to the more influential 'Ulamá attached to the College, who denounced him as an innovator in religion, a fatal fault in so conservative a place. The result was that Shaikh Sanúsi had to proceed on his way. He, however, gives quite a different reason for his departure. He says that one day when he was making the usual wazu, or ceremonial ablution, before engaging in the namáz, or stated prayers, in the Mosque attached to the College, he saw a man who looked mean and poor. The man, who was quite a stranger, said to him:—"Why dost thou do so with me, O Sanúsi?" "How do you know my name?" He replied:—"I am the Qutb of the age." "Then," said Sanúsi, "it is thou I am seeking." The man said to him:—"Thou hast nothing to do with me, go to Mecca." In after years, it suited Shaikh Sanúsi to show that he left Cairo owing to a supernatural direction, and not that he was expelled as a troublesome student. But, whatever was the cause, he did go, and proceeded on his way to fulfil his original intention of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. As his mind had already been directed towards the life of a Darwish, when he arrived at Mecca he placed himself under the tuition and spiritual guidance of Shaikh Aḥmad bin Idris, the Shaikh of the Qádiríyah Darwishes. Owing to some local disputes Shaikh Aḥmad was exiled from Mecca. His devoted pupil

and follower went with him, and on the Master's death in 1833 A.D. claimed, though opposed by some others of his followers, to be his successor. This led to a division in the Order, the result of which was that Shaikh Sanúsi, having induced many of his fellow Darwishes to join him, formed a new Order, of which he assumed the headship. He then commenced an active propaganda in Yemen, but the older Orders looked upon his work with disapproval and successfully opposed him. However, he remained in Mecca from 1835 to 1843, gathering men around him and developing his plans. He called his teaching the Ṭaríqah-i-Muḥammadíyah, or 'Way of Muḥammad', and said that his community was a reformed branch of the great Sh※ziliyah Order. He now gave to his own Order the name Ṭaríqah-i-Sanúsíyah, or 'Way of Sanúsi'. Men in the position he had now assumed profess to have special revelations from God and to be divinely directed in their movements; so not finding sufficient scope in Mecca for his plans and purposes, he one day announced to his disciples that Muḥammad had appeared to him, and had ordered him to leave Mecca and to settle his disciples in Záwiyahs, or monasteries, in many different lands. This he did most effectually in course of time. Záwiyahs were established in Arabia, Egypt, the Súdán, Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, Senegambia, and even in the Eastern Archipelago. The rapid extension of this Order has been marvellous. There is nothing like it in the modern Muslim world. With its extension its power has also increased. M. Duveyrier says that there are three million members of the Order; but the Sanúsis themselves say there are eight millions. Probably there are five or six, for the inhabitants of Wadai, now nearly all Sanúsis, number nearly three millions.

The Shaikh, after settling his course of action, soon gathered a large body of disciples together, over whom he exercised a most rigorous discipline. Whilst displaying administrative abilities of a very high order, he continued his theological studies and became a prolific writer on religious subjects.

The 'Ulamá are nearly always hostile to the Darwishes, and

Shaikh Sanúsi soon learnt that his growing influence stirred up a spirit of jealousy. The 'Ulamá of Constantinople, Cairo, and Mecca were all ranged in opposition to him, and so in the year 1855 he withdrew altogether from their spheres of influence, and in the oasis of Jaghbúb[1] in the Libyan desert, midway between Egypt and Tripoli,[2] founded a Záwiyah which became the head-quarters of the Order. The site was well chosen. It is situated about one-hundred and fifty miles south of Tobruk, a Mediterranean port used by the Sanúsis, and occupies a commanding position on the great caravan routes of North Africa. "It is at once a fortress and a convent, a University and a shrine." Except to modern artillery it is an almost impregnable place. It possesses a fine mosque and many buildings. It grew rapidly after the conversion of the people of Wadai, of whom many came as students or as labourers. The transfer of the capital in 1994 to the Kufra oasis, a movement to be described later on, has lessened the importance of Jaghbúb, which is now little more than the University of the Order. Jaghbúb was not only the administrative centre, but also the theological home of the Order where hundreds of its missionaries were trained as teachers and preachers and then, year by year, sent forth in large numbers to proclaim the doctrines of Islám in all parts of Northern Africa. The names of all the brethren of the Order were carefully entered in the record books kept there. It is said that its theological school had seven hundred pupils. The Order of the Sanúsíyah is more than an organization to reform what its leaders consider to be lax in Islám; it is a powerful proselytizing body. The isolation of the desert life at Jaghbúb, and the freedom gained from the opposition of the 'Ulamá and orthodox Mullás

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1 جغبوب Sometimes the plural form جغابيت is used.

2 "Tripoli, nominally Turkish, but practically under the rule of the Sanúsíyah confraternity is dangerous ground, into which France with her experience of this powerful and highly organized Muhammadan sect, on the border land of the Sahara and Algeria itself, may well hesitate to enter." Silva White's *The Expansion of Egypt*, p. 123.

and Maulavis gave Shaikh Sanúsi that peace and tranquillity which increased his spiritual influence over his followers. Soon after his arrival there, he began work amongst the negro races. He purchased slaves from those nomad tribes who in the internecine wars of their respective territories had after a victory taken them as prisoners, or had acquired them by successfully pillaging slave caravans. Shaikh Sanúsi brought these slaves to his Záwiyah, placed them under religious instruction for a time, and then, when fitted for it, sent them to their own countries as free men and as preachers of Islám. They became and remained his most faithful followers.

Shaikh Sanúsi died at Jaghbúb in the year 1276 A.H.—1859 A.D. and was buried in that place. His mausoleum in the great mosque there is a very magnificent one and pilgrimages to it, instead of making the Ḥajj to Mecca, are common amongst his followers. Though little known in the Western world, he was one of the most remarkable men of the age. Without shedding blood or calling in the aid of any temporal ruler, by the energy and force of his character, he raised up in the Ottoman Empire and its adjacent lands a theocratic system which is almost, if not quite, independent of any political Power. His great object was to restore the original Islám and to revive the religious and moral laws of the Prophet. This being the attitude of his mind, he naturally opposed all modern innovations in Turkish rule and life, and wished to raise an impassable barrier against Western civilisation and the influence of the Christian Powers in Muslim lands. He had been influenced by the earlier Wahhábi revival, for he followed that sect in its rigorous prohibition of many harmless things. At the same time, with all this stiffness of thought and life, he, as the head of a Darwish Order, introduced a mystical element into all that he taught.

Shaikh Sanúsi was succeeded by his son, 'Ali bin Sanúsi, a lad then of about thirteen years of age, who by European writers is also called Shaikh Sanúsi, but by Muslims and by his own followers Shaikhu'l Mahdi. In order to distinguish

this, the present head of the Order, from his father, we shall also speak of him as the Shaikhu'l Mahdi, or simply as the Shaikh, remarking, however, that he had no connection whatever with the late Mahdi in the Eastern Súdán. He now takes the administrative oversight of the Order, whilst his brother, Muḥammad Sharíf, looks after the religious teaching. His followers, or at all events the more ignorant amongst them, looked upon him as the coming Mahdi, who was expected in the thirteenth century of Islám, a period of time which expired in the year 1883 A.D. In support of their expectation they alleged that he bore between his shoulders the indubitable sign of his designation to some high office, a round bluish spot, such as that which had, according to Muslim belief, appeared on the bodies of Moses, Christ, and Muḥammad, the three great leaders of the prophetic order. Their belief has not been verified, but whilst it lasted it added power and prestige to the rule of the Shaikh.

The Grand Council of the Order used to meet, from time to time, at Jaghbúb, under the presidentship of the Shaikh, who was in this work assisted by his brother and his councillors. Two of the latter held the office of Wazírs. One was in special charge of the Záwiyah at Jaghbúb, while the other superintended the affairs of all the other Záwiyahs. The organization is very simple. The Darwishes live in the various Záwiyahs, each of which is under the charge of a superior, called a Muqaddim, to whom the members must yield implicit obedience. There were[1] in 1886 one hundred and twenty-one different Záwiyahs, all subject to the Mother House at that time situated in Jaghbúb. In the head Monastery there were about four hundred Darwishes, gathered from all parts. Most of them were unmarried, and so were ready at a moment's notice to go anywhere the Shaikh might direct them to proceed, or to undertake any duty he might call upon them to perform. A hundred negro slaves did the household

[1] Duveyrier, writing in 1886 gives this number; but there must be many more in existence now.

work and attended to the gardens. The inmates of the Záwiyah were well armed, and a large reserve of guns and ammunition was kept in stock. Five pieces of artillery had been purchased in Alexandria and were kept ready for use. A certain number of artificers and workmen lived outside the Záwiyah. One day the Shaikh was asked whether all this warlike display was against the French or the Turks. "Neither against the one nor the other," said he. "My father began a work which had great results. I simply carry it on." Taxes are levied at the rate of 2½ per cent. on capital exceeding one hundred and twenty-five francs, and extraordinary contributions are sometimes called for from the possessors of treasure, warehouses, and cattle. The Order itself is rich in slaves, houses, sheep, and camels, the latter being branded with the name of Alláh. Whenever the delegates of the Shaikh visit the brethren in the subordinate Záwiyahs they receive offerings. The poorer brethren, who cannot pay the taxes, are employed in building Záwiyahs, in attending to the gardens and cattle, and in carrying despatches. For the latter purpose a system of couriers was organised, by means of which communication between Jaghbúb and distant Záwiyahs was easy and comparatively swift. The Shaikh was thus kept well informed of all that was going on. The probable arrival of a stranger at Jaghbúb was known before he came near to it, and, unless he had something in the shape of a passport from a Muqaddim, he was subjected to a very strict examination before he was allowed to have any intercourse with the Darwishes. If all was satisfactory, the Shaikh might after some days accord him the privilege of a personal interview; but, as his person is looked up as sacred, such interviews were very rarely granted. In order to ensure secrecy, the orders of the Shaikh and of the Muqaddims sent by letter are nearly always written in a vague and impersonal form. Thus a letter from Mecca to Jaghbúb reads:—"Your servant whose writing is known to you. Its superscription is also a little known. By the Grace of God Most High may it arrive at Jaghbúb and may it be referred to the lords of the brothers. . . . . . God keep

us in peace. Amen. Under the invocation of Bedoub."[1] In the salutation at the beginning of a letter no name is mentioned. Conventional terms are used to disguise the purport of the correspondence, and great care is taken to ensure the safe delivery of letters.

The Muqaddims have much influence over people who are not actual members of the Order, and who have not taken the calling of a Darwish upon them. In some parts the people hold their lands by a kind of feudal tenure, and are practically the vassals of the Order. The principal person in such a district is not the Turkish Mutaṣarrif, but the Sanúsíyah leader, and the chief work of the Turkish officials is to keep the members of the Sanúsíyah Order contented. The most active centre of its influence was, until the removal to the Kufra oasis, the peninsula of Barka, nominally belonging to the Ottoman Empire, really to the Shaikhu'l Mahdi. Thus the Sanúsis occupied the most fertile part of Tripoli and the Sultan did not dare attempt to expel them. It is said that the Shaikhu'l Mahdi can command the services of 25,000 men as foot soldiers, and of 1,500 mounted men. In the north-eastern part of Africa, excluding Egypt, a very common form of oath used by the people is to swear by "Al Ḥaqq Sidi as-Sanúsi", that is, "by the truth of Sidi as-Sanúsi".[2] In addition to these volunteers, there are the regular Darwishes and a large number of slaves always available when fighting men are needed. Shaikhu'l Mahdi does not commit the error of neglecting the masses. A Muslim traveller, if found worthy of it, receives hospitality in any Záwiyah he may be near; and, if he is intelligent, he receives much attention from the Muqaddim. In this way the Order has become very popular.

In the Annual Conference held formerly at Jaghbúb, and

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[1] The meaning of this is not known outside the Order: it is probably a kind of talisman.

[2] If a Bedouin of these parts swears: "May I be excluded from the Záwiyah, if......, one may be sure he is speaking the truth." -Silva White's *From Sphinx to Oracle*, p. 123.

now at Al Istat, the Shaikh, assisted by his Muqaddims, examines the temporal and spiritual condition of the Order, and discusses with them plans for the future, especially as regards the extension of their influence. In their propaganda work they seek to influence men of position, and pay much attention to the education of the young. In provinces long subject to Islám, such as Egypt, where they wish to reform the religion, they generally commence by opening schools, and trust to time for the gradual spread of their views. In this way they are able each year to consider the operations of the Order as a whole, and the success they meet with is extraordinary. For example, they went first to Farfara, an oasis in the Lybian desert, in the year 1860, and in less than thirteen years they completely changed the character of the people and acquired valuable property. One favourite method of reaching a new tribe is to purchase slaves taken from it, and after teaching Islám to them to release and send them back as preachers to their own people. In this way much success was met with in the Wadai country, the Sultans of which have been and are ardent admirers of the Sanúsis. The first object of the Shaikhu'l Mahdi was the conversion of the Chief, by showing him the advantage, primarily to himself and then to his people, of the establishment of commercial relations with the Sanúsíyah Order. The Sultan of the Wadai country, 'Ali bin Muḥammad, soon became an enthusiastic follower of the Shaikhu'l Mahdi. At his decease in 1876, the succession to the Sultanate was disputed, and it shows the enormous influence the Sanúsis had then obtained, that they were able to stop the internecine conflict and to secure the accession of the candidate they preferred. The new Sultan then elected became a loyal subject, and held his office as a tributary to the Jaghbúb Záwiyah. To the North-west of Wadai, the State of Ennedi has become a vassal one. In 1855, the people of that country were all pagans. In 1888 they had all become Muslims, and the chief had been admitted as a member of the Order. He used to send to Jaghbúb not only rich presents, but the choicest of his young men to be fully trained and instructed under the

personal direction of the Shaikhu'l Mahdi. In fact, the whole region round Lake Chad is more or less under Sanúsi influence.

To the north-west of Lake Chad lies an inhospitable desert, in the midst of which, about five degrees South of Jaghbúb, is the great oasis of Kufra. The large Záwiyah of Al Istat in this oasis is the second in importance of all the Záwiyahs, and for many years was looked to as a probable future asylum in an almost unapproachable region. The move thus anticipated actually came to pass in the year 1893 or 1894 when the Shaikhu'l Islám, with many of the wealthier residents of Jaghbúb, left that place for Kufra. The hatred of the Sanúsis to Muslims who submit to the political supremacy of the Christian Powers, or who would effect a compromise with western civilization, is so great that good Muslims are exhorted to leave such countries as Turkey and Egypt. This naturally arouses hostility against them and so, in order to avoid reprisals and to be free from such evil influences, the Shaikh transferred his seat of Government to this more isolated place. He himself is said to live not in the Záwiyah, but at Joffa close by. New routes have been opened up in various directions. "From this inaccessible fortress the Shaikhu'l Mahdi governs Sanúsiland. Swift messengers carry his orders to all parts of North Africa; and he is kept constantly informed by his agents of all that transpires in the outer world, receiving books, pamphlets, newspapers, and all the requirements of his responsible office. His military and political organization is complete. The policy of the Sanúsi never changes."[1] The Order has now seventeen monasteries in Egypt,[2] but in Tripoli there are

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[1] Silva White's *From Sphinx to Oracle*, p. 129.

[2] The famous Arab traveller, Ibn Batútah, who visited Cairo about the year 1333 A.D., thus describes the Darwishes of that day. He says:—"The Záwiyahs are very numerous. Each Záwiyah is set apart for a number of Darwishes who for the most part are of Persian origin, well versed in Ṣúfi doctrines. At the head of each Záwiyah is a Shaikh. The regularity and order are marvellous. A servant goes in the early morning to each Darwish, who indicates the dishes he requires. When they meet for meals, before each one is placed

many more. It there defies all rules and is a great social and political power. The Sanúsíyah Darwishes sometimes, in places where they are likely to meet with much opposition, assume other names. Thus in Tunis they appeared as members of the Qádiríyah Order when they commenced operations there. The success they have met with has been comparatively small, and they have only five Záwiyahs in that country. They have been more successful in the oases of the Sahara. They commenced work in Morocco in 1877 and have now three Záwiyahs there, at Tangiers, Tetuan and Fez. In the various oases and amongst the Berber tribes of the Atlas range they have many adherents. In the country of Tibeste and of Borku, to the north-west of Lake Chad, they are using their utmost endeavours to convert the heathen population or to stir up the

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a loaf and soup in separate dishes. They partake of food twice a day. They have a garment for winter and one for summer. Their living costs from twenty to thirty dirhems a month. On Thursdays and Fridays they have sweetened titbits. They are allowed soap for the washing of their clothes, oil for their lamps, and the fees for the public baths. The married men have separate Záwiyahs. They must say the five stated prayers each day, and must pass each night in the Záwiyah. Each one has his own sajjádah, or prayer-carpet, and at the time of morning prayer (ṣalátu's-ṣubḥ) they say Súras xlviii., lxvii., and lxxviii. After this, each one takes a juz, or section of the Qurán and reads it, and so they soon complete the reading of the whole book. Then they recite the praises of God. The same routine is gone through at the afternoon prayer (ṣalátu'l 'asr).

The following custom is observed with a novice. He is brought to the door of the Záwiyah, with a girdle round his loins and a prayer-carpet on his shoulder. In his right hand he carries a staff, and in his left a basin. The doorkeeper informs the servant of the Záwiyah of the coming of the novice. They then ask him why he has come, in what Záwiyah he has resided, and the name of his spiritual director. As soon as the truth of his answers is verified he is allowed to enter the Záwiyah, to spread out his prayer-carpet. He is then shown where he can perform the ceremonial ablutions. He then does these, returns to the place where his prayer-carpet was laid down, unties his girdle, makes a prayer (namáz) of two rak'ats, kisses the hands of the Shaikh and of his assistants, and takes his place amongst them.

On Friday the servant takes all the prayer-carpets to the Mosque, where the Shaikh and all the Darwishes of the Order assemble and go through their usual routine of prayer and reading of the Qurán; after which they return to their Záwiyah." Ibn Batútah, vol. i. p. 71.

Muḥammadans to greater strictness of religious life. In 1873 they had gone as far as Senegal, and there was in 1888, at least, one Záwiyah in Timbuktu and probably there are more now. At that time the Order had not penetrated into the Upper Nile regions or into Nigeria, but their influence on the Orders already there had become even then so great that it is probably only a question of time when all in these regions will fall into their power. Thus in Africa the Order has spread with great rapidity and possesses much influence and power. In Europe it has found no footing except at Constantinople. In Asia there are about twelve Záwiyahs, one of which is at Mecca, built near the tomb of Adam and Eve.[1] The archives of the Order are kept there. At Jeddah the Záwiyah is mainly for the use of the pilgrims. The Order is popular in the Hedjaz, the tribes of which are much attached to it and form a material force ready to oppose the Turkish 'Ulamá and civil authorities when the due time arrives. The Sanúsíyah Darwishes are also found at work in the Malay Archipelago. Many Malays when in Mecca assume Arabic names or titles instead of their own native ones, and often call themselves Sanúsis, which shows that the Order is well known to them.

A point of some importance is the apparent readiness and success with which the Sanúsíyah Order assimilates itself to other religious confraternities.[2] The Shá̱zilíyah, the Tijáníah and the Qádiríyah Orders, after having commenced by repudiating the claims of Shai̱kẖ Sanúsi, now bear, more or less, the intellectual yoke of the Sanúsíyah, and conform to some extent, in

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[1] These statements as to the numbers of the Záwiyahs are based an information given by Duveyrier and by Rinn in 1884, the latest authentic records on this subject; but they must have very largely increased during the last sixteen years.

[2] Un point important qu'il est essentiel de ne pas perdre de vue, c'est la tendance dela confrérie de Síde Muḥammad Ben 'Ali's Sanúsi à s'assimiler les autres associations religieuses issues comme elle, de l'école des Shá̱zilíyah, c'est-à-dire la presque totalité des ordres musulmans. Et cette tactique, dont les résultats politiques peuvent devenier très graves, a été' couronnée de succès dans le plus grand nombre de cas" Duveyrier's *La Confrérie Musulmane*, p. 8.

political matters, to the views held by it.[1] It is said by some writers that Shaikh Sanúsi tolerated certain of the special rites and ceremonies of these other Orders, and thus extended his personal influence over a mass of people not actually initiated into his own Order. A man may become a Sanúsi, without abandoning his own Order, provided that he submits to certain restrictions. In fact, this capacity for assimilation is a special characteristic of the Order. "Thus, the Sanúsis claim the support of no less than forty (or, as some authorities would say, sixty-four) groups—Religious Orders, or branches of these—more or less allied to the Sháziliyah school of philosophy, which embraces the majority of the Muslim Orders. Amalgamation is undoubtedly aimed at, and is, in fact, progressing rapidly; because wherever the Sanúsis settle, there they eventually rule. Its latitudinarianism thus constitutes the great cohesive force in the propaganda of the Sanúsis."[2] Its secret agents are to be found in Záwiyahs of other Orders, and these men duly report to the Shaikh all that is of importance for him to know. They also quietly spread Sanúsíyah views amongst these other Darwishes. Conscious of the power which an air of mystery gives, they keep the rules of their Order secret and avoid any outward distinctive sign. The rosary they use is one common to others. In the namáz, or public prayer, they use no peculiar rites, whilst their special Zikr is made known to their own followers alone. The form of Zikr they use is as follows:—The worshipper, after Ṣalátu'l-Fajr, or the usual morning prayer, says forty times, "O my God, preserve me at the moment of death and in the trials which follow it"; then one hundred times, "I seek pardon from God"; then one hundred times, "There is no God but Alláh and Muḥammad is the Prophet of God"; then one hundred times, "O my God, grant thy favour to our Lord Muḥammad the illiterate

[1] "Tous ces ordres on confrèries, divisées autrefois, semblent au contraire aujourd'hui obéir à une impulsion unique dont on ignore encore l'origines." Frisch's *Le Maroc*, p. 186.

[2] Silva White's *From Sphinx to Oracle*, p. 117.

prophet, also to his family and companions, and give them safety".[1] The three last should then be repeated all over again three times, making altogether nine hundred repetitions. The ritual directions of the Ẕikr are that the rosary should be carried on the hand and not be suspended from the neck, and in all meetings for worship music and dancing are strictly prohibited.

Whilst the Sanúsíyah strongly assert the truth that God alone is to be exalted, they allow a very high veneration to be paid to Saints, though they would not call it worship. In fact they prohibit pilgrimages to their tombs and the invocation of their names. The novice is expected to entirely renounce the world, and to yield implicit obedience to the Shaiḵẖ as his spiritual guide and temporal leader. Luxurious dresses, silk embroidery, ornaments (except for women) and gold and silver vessels are forbidden things; but the precious metals may be used in the hilts of swords, as they may be employed in the Jihád, or Holy War. Coffee and tobacco are strictly forbidden. Tea may be drunk, but not sweetened with loaf sugar, for that is said to be clarified with the bones of animals slain without the use of the expression Bismilláh (*i.e.*, in the name of God) by the persons who killed them. All that appertains to them is thus impure, and so unlawful for use by Muslims. Intercourse with Jews or Christians is not permitted. No salutation should be made to them, and no business transacted with them. If the Jew or Christian should not be a Rayah, or Ẕimmi, he must be dealt with as an enemy.[2] He is either a Ẕimmi, that is, one allowed to live on payment of a tax, or he is a fair subject for oppression and death. The Order is thus absolutely hostile in its spirit and intention to all non-Muslim peoples.

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[1] اللّهمّ صلّى على سيّدنا محمّد النّبى الأمّى و على آله و صحبه و سلّم

[2] "What specially characterizes them (the Sanúsíyah), above every Muḥammadan Order or Sect, is, not merely the fanaticism within their own religion, but their burning hatred of Christians." Rohlfs, quoted by Silva White in *From Sphinx to Oracle*, p. 127.

The members of the Order should not carry their disputes before alien law courts. The Shaikh is the supreme judge, who alone can settle the civil and criminal cases which may arise in so large a body. They profess to be quite orthodox in their religious principles. They look upon the Qurán as God's word direct to His people, and consider the Sunnat to be that same will, declared in the daily actions and words of the Prophet. They look upon bid'at, or innovations on the traditional beliefs and practices as hurtful and heretical; they assert the absolute necessity of the Imámat, that is, the constant presence of a spiritual Pontiff, whom they find in their Shaikh. They consider the ideal religious life to be one of contemplation.

All this leads the Sanúsíyah, the most uncompromising, and the most powerful of all the Orders, to view Islám as a Theocracy and to consider that all good Muslims should, with them, so look upon it. The result is a great pan-Islámic movement. Intelligent, and convinced too of the excellence of their cause, they can with patience wait for the full result of their teaching. Not that this is likely to lead to more toleration, for one of the most recent and one of the best informed French writers on Islám in Algiers declares that, if it were possible to drive the French into the sea and to establish a theocratic state, the religious Orders would do it at once.[1] But for the present, the Sanúsíyah enter into no political engagements with Christian or Muslim Powers, and simply trust to the leaven which their principles introduce amongst Muslims. The end to be sought for is to so regenerate Islám, by restoring it to its ancient state, as they conceive it to have been, that it may present an effective barrier to the destructive forces of European civilisation and the modern spirit. They do all this from a religious motive,

[1] "Si ces Sociétés secrètes entrevoyaient la possibilité de nous jeter à la mer et de substituer un État musulman théocratique à l'ordre de choses actuel, elles chercheraient sans le moindre doute à renverser, dans un supreme effort, la domination chrétienne." Count Castries' *L'Islám*, p. 236.

for they affirm that the glory of God is their only aim. They do, however, look forward to a temporal kingdom, which the Theocracy they hope to see will be; but for the present they work for that object in their own way, and that way is to avoid any entanglements with worldly Powers. In 1872 the Prussians tried to stir up the Sanúsíyah to proclaim a Jihád against the French, but in vain. The Sultán of Turkey ordered the Shaikh to send him some men to fight the Russians, but not a man went. The Italians have sought their aid in counteracting French influence in Tunis, but have not succeeded in getting it. During the revolt of Arabi Pasha in Egypt the Sanúsíyah did not stir. The Shaikh probably thought that the Turks, who are not his friends, had something to do with Arabi's revolt, or perhaps he did not think that even its success would lead to the establishment of a universal Imámate.

In the year 1885, six envoys came from the Mahdi in the Súdán to Jaghbúb with a letter addressed to the Shaikh of the Sanúsíyah Order. The Mahdi wrote somewhat as follows:—"I have defeated the English and Egyptian troops. I shall continue the war until Egypt falls into the hands of the true believers. Thou art all powerful in the West. Join me in a Holy War." The Shaikh asked his Darwishes what he should say in reply. They said:—"Thou art the Master, and we follow thy order." The Súdánis were well treated, and on the fourth day the Shaikh addressed them as follows:—"Tell your master that we will have nothing to do with him. His way is not good. I send no letter in reply." Thus a great danger to civilisation was happily averted. The Shaikh saw plainly that the revolt was premature and lacked the conditions of permanence and success. No doubt also it was the implied ignoring by the Mahdi of his own pretensions as the foremost and most excellent of all the Shaikhs, and not any consideration for Egypt, which led the Sanúsi leader to refuse his countenance and aid to the Eastern Súdán movement. It is extremely probable that the destruction of the Mahdi of Khartum has very materially strengthened the

Sanúsíyah Order by the extinction of any rival authority to that of its own Shaikh, who is undoubtedly the most powerful leader of men in Africa at this present time, for Negroes, converted to Islám in their thousands every year, form excellent soldiers and these by the million are at the call of the great Sanúsi chief, Shaikhu'l Mahdi.

The direct action of the Sanúsíyah in any of the insurrections in Algiers has never been proved; but even though no overt acts can be alleged, yet the widespread influence of their teaching and their known dislike to all modern methods of civilisation have doubtless been very powerful factors in leading others on in the way of more active and pronounced opposition, and their Záwiyahs have always been open to rebels. The present policy, however, of the Order seems to be to encourage emigration from lands under alien rule to lands which Western influence has not yet reached, or in which it has not yet become in any way a power. This really means a vast immigration to the oases of the Sahara and other parts.[1] Thus all the main caravan routes are being brought under Sanúsi control, wells are dug, trees are planted and cultivation is carried on by freed slaves, now carefully instructed in the dogmas and practices of the Order. In this way it is thought that the true believers may be gathered together and be preserved from living under the yoke of Christian Powers, or under the scarcely less hated rule of the Sultan and Khedive, who are under the control of European Governments and suffer, in the opinion of the Sanúsíyah, from that pernicious influence. In fact, Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and other countries where modern civilisation has had some influence, are looked upon with much reprobation. "The Sanúsis are the most violent enemies of the Christians, and they equally call themselves the enemies of the Turks."[2] The motto of

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[1] L'exode, se poursuit, chaque jour plus nombreux, de tous le pays Musulmans" Count Castries' *L'Islâm*, p. 238.

[2] Frisch's *Le Maroc*, p. 190.

the Order is:[1] "The Turks and the Christians are in the same category: we will destroy them both at the same time."[2] None of these countries, then, are suitable for the development of the theocratic views of the Order, and departure from them is often urged. In a pastoral letter, written by a Muqaddim in 1869, the following passage occurs:—"Recite the Ẕikr, it opens the way to God. Leave those who say, 'God wills that you should be as you are.' God does not reveal himself forcibly to an Arab or to a stranger, His sole object is Himself, the One, who begets not, and is not begotten. O brothers, do not neglect us or the Shaikh. Is not the earth vast? Change your residence, and then the dwellings of those who do not emigrate with you will be burnt down. But as to the feeble, men and women, who cannot do so, perhaps God will pardon them. It is written, 'whoever fleeth his country for the cause of God, will find many under like compulsion and abundant resources'.[3] 'As for those who led the way, the first of the Muhájirun,[4] and the Anṣárs[5] and those who followed their noble conduct, God is well pleased with them.'[6] The Shaikhu'l Mahdi, now head of the Order, later on said to his followers: "Quit your country. Is not God's earth vast?"

There is much trouble in the Muslim world at the growing Christian occupation of lands, till lately open only to the followers of Islám. In Africa especially this is seen to be the case. There the Sultan of Turkey has no real power, and his

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[1] آلترك والنصارىٰ آلكل فى رمزة نفظهم فى مرة

[2] The same principle seems to have guided the policy of the Order of the Knights Templars,—"La règle c'était l'exil et la guerre sainte jusqa' à la mort." *Edinburgh Review*, No. 393 p. 52.

[3] Súra iv. 101.

[4] That is, first emigrants from Mecca to Madína.

[5] That is, those who in Madína helped Muḥammad.

[6] Súra ix. 131.

claim to the Khalifate and to a sort of universal dominion is by no means largely admitted outside of Turkey. In Morocco it is distinctly denied.[1] Thus, had it not been for these religious confraternities, the flock of Islám would, in some parts, have been as sheep without a shepherd. The reason for the founding of new Orders, such as that of the Sanúsíyah, is thus to be found in the need felt by large bodies of Muslims for clear direction and supervision, and for something which will give them some spiritual solidarity. This the Sanúsíyah Order has sought to give by setting before itself as one of its grand objects the federation of all the various Orders in one great pan-Islámic movement, exclusive of all secular rule; but fortunately many of the other Orders do not approve of this plausible attempt at absorption, and in this respect they oppose the Sanúsíyah. The French in Algiers are perfectly aware of this danger in their midst.[2] More than half of the Muslim inhabitants are connected with these various kinds of Religious Orders, and there are no less than three hundred and fifty Záwiyahs there. This is a large band of men, trained to yield implicit obedience to the will of their Shaikhs. As a rule they are simple, credulous persons, but all the more easily led astray. The Sanúsíyah is the most irreconcilable enemy of the French, and it is by patient working, by ceaseless intrigue, and by thorough knowledge of the Muslim mind and heart that it has attained to its great position of influence and to its

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[1] Meakin's *The Moorish Empire*, p. 198.

[2] La confrérie de Sîdi Muḥammad Ben 'Ali as-Senoûsî est l'ennemie irréconcíliable et réellement dangereuse de la domination Francaise dans le nord de l'Afrique, aussi bíen en Algérie, qu'en Tunisie et au Sénégal." Duveyrier's *La Confrérie Musulmane*, p. 14.

Silva White says:—"Algeria is honeycombed with Sanúsi intriguers." "So vast a combination is necessarily fraught with danger to the peace of Africa; o intolerant and powerful a sect is, ostensibly, capable of shaking Islám to its foundations, when the moment of action arrives." *From Sphinx to Oracle*, pp. 124-5.

power for evil.[1] Referring to the possible danger and trouble all this may bring, Comte Henry de Castries says that should a continental war compel France to withdraw many troops from Africa, the Sanúsíyah and the other Orders might easily be stirred up by an enemy of France to open revolt.[2] The only hope then would be that the Shaikhs of the various Orders in their bid for power would fall out amongst themselves, and that tribal factions would lead to disunion. He thinks this would be the probable outcome of such an adverse movement, for "l'anarchie est le mal endémique de l'Islám." This is true, for from the days of the internecine strifes of the early Khalifate there has never been religious or political unity in Islám.

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[1] The Spectator, usually well informed on Eastern matters, takes rather a gloomy view of the position. It says :—The line of least resistance would be southwards, the Sanúsi (*i.e.*, Shaikhu'l Mahdi) ordering his followers to conquer practically the whole interior of Africa from Libya to the Congo, and consolidating the dozen or so half Musulmán States which exist there into one enormous monarchy. On the other hand, every Arab in the world........regards Egypt as a treasure house which properly belongs to him, and the desert forces may, through the Hinterland of Barka, precipitate themselves upon the Nile. The fear of England is, however, on all the tribes of Central Africa, the French have been enemies of the Sanúsis for forty years and the impulse which, in the early middle ages, drove the Arabs steadily westward till they were stopped by the Atlantic may impel them again. The Sanúsi has scores of thousands of disciples in Tunis, Algeria and Morocco and it is most probable that the storm would first of all burst in that direction. ......The present necessity is only to warn Europe that five hundred miles south of the Mediterranean a mighty cloud is gathering, which may any day burst over North Africa and force Europe, either to abandon its possessions and its hopes in that vast region, or to maintain them by the sword." *Spectator*, March 10th, 1900.

[2] *L'Islám*, p. 239.

THE KHALIF ḤÁKIM AND THE DRUSES.

IV.

One of the most famous of the Fáṭimide Khalifs of Egypt was Ḥákim ba amr Illáh, who reigned from 386—411 A. H.—996—1020 A. D. He is notorious for the extraordinary cruelties he practised, which cowed the spirit of those over whom he ruled, and for the veneration paid to him by the sect of the Druses who now revere and worship him. In order to understand the man and the age, it is necessary to trace briefly the rise of the Fáṭimide dynasty and to give some account of the curious phases of religious thought connected with it.

In the earliest days of Islám factions and feuds arose. One large and important body consisted of the followers of 'Ali and his sons, known as the Shí'ah sect. This again became subdivided into minor sects. 'Ali was the first Imám, or head of the Shí'ah Church, and the sixth in succession to him was Ja'far aṣ-Ṣádiq, who died at Madína in the year 148 A.H. He nominated his son Ismá'íl as his successor, but Ismá'íl predeceased his father and so the nomination came to nothing. Ja'far then appointed another of his sons, named Músa Káẓim, but this led to a great division of opinion. Some said that the Imám was acting quite rightly in appointing Musá; others maintained that the office was hereditary and that the son of the deceased Ismá'íl was the only legitimate successor to the Imámat. The result was that there

was a great division of opinion which led to the formation of the sect of the Ismá'ílians. They appointed Muḥammadu'l-Ḥabíb, the son of the deceased Ismá'íl, as their Imám, whilst the old party kept to Musá. Muḥammadu'l-Ḥabíb was called the Makhtúm or concealed Imám, a name given also to his five successors. The name shows that the opposition to their claims was so strong that they did not dare to assert them openly.

The eleventh Imám of the Imámites, the party opposed to the Ismá'ílians, was Ḥasan al 'Askari, whom the 'Abbásside Khalifs kept a close prisoner. One day, in the year 265 A.H., his infant son Abú'l Qásim when searching for his father entered a cave and never came out again. He is now regarded as the Mahdi, the guided one; as the Muntaẓar, the expected one; as the Qá'im, the living one, who at the end of this dispensation will return and bring all men to a knowledge of the true Faith.

The Ismá'ílians are famous for the esoteric views they held and for the activity with which they propagated them. One extreme section received the name of Báṭinis, a word which means 'inner' and is applied to them because they held that there was an inner or esoteric meaning of the Qurán, that this was of far more importance than positive law, and that this meaning was known only to the initiated. Revelation came through prophets, but interpretation came through the Imáms. They were the depositaries of all knowledge, and only from them, or from their emissaries, could men find the right path or the explanation of the many enigmas of life.

As the Imáms of the Ismá'ílians were concealed, their interpretations could only be given by men appointed for the purpose, who had been initiated into all the secrets of the sect. These were called Dá'is, or missionaries. There were nine distinct stages or degrees through which the neophyte could pass. When a Dá'i wished to make a proselyte he proceeded to ask questions on obscure passages in the Qurán, to point out that the intellect of man was powerless to

understand them or even the events of daily life. If the Dá'i perceived that the person he addressed was intelligent and accustomed to controversy he accommodated himself to his opinions, showed him great respect and praised all he said. On the other hand, if the person addressed was a simple-minded ignorant man, the Dá'i would then affirm that religion was a secret science known only to a few, and that the great division amongst Muslims was owing to the fact that they did not recognize in the Imáms the special knowledge God had given to them. Gradually the pupil began to see that much in life and in religion was an enigma to him, and that the Dá'i possessed knowledge which he did not, so doubt imperceptibly crept into his mind and he became more and more susceptible to the influence of the Dá'i, who now took for the subject of discussion the literal and allegorical[1] meanings of passages in the Qurán. The esoteric meaning of these[2] was known to the Imáms and had been handed down from them to approved teachers in each generation. When the faith of the neophyte was sufficiently shaken and his curiosity excited, the Dá'i proceeded to put such questions as these:—What is the meaning of the casting of the pebbles[3] and of the running between Mounts Ṣafá and Marwah? Why is a woman, who has omitted the fast and the namáz, obliged to keep the fast some other time but not to supply the omission of the prayers? Why did God take seven days to create the world, when He could have done it in an hour? How can it be true that the skin of the damned will be changed into a new skin, or that the new skin which has not taken on the sins of the other shall be tormented in fire?[4]

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[1] تاويل الايات و تنزيلها

[2] معانيها و بواطنها

[3] These are ceremonies connected with the Ḥajj. See Sell's *Faith of Islám*, pp. 294-296.

[4] "Those who disbelieve Our signs, We will in the end cast into the fire: so oft as their skins shall be well burnt, We will change them for fresh skins, that they may taste the torment."—Súra iv. 59.

Who are Gog and Magog, Hárút and Márút? What are the seven doors of hell and the eight gates of heaven? What is the meaning of the words, "Which move quickly and hide themselves away."[1] What is the meaning of the letters, Alif, Lám, Mím, &c., at the beginnings of certain Súras? Why were seven heavens created and why has the first chapter of the Qurán seven verses? Why did twelve fountains gush forth when Moses struck the rock;[2] why are there twelve months in a year?[3]

The Dá'i then led on the pupil through the mazes of philosophic speculation; puzzled him with recondite questions with reference to the spiritual and the natural worlds; and on the strength of the text, "On earth are signs for men of firm belief and also on your own selves, will ye not then behold them?"[4] declared that it was incumbent on the believer to make great efforts to get at the inner meaning of these things. He also quoted the verses:—"God setteth these similitudes to men that haply they may reflect"[5] "We will show them our signs in (different) countries and among themselves, until it is plain to them that it is the truth."[6] These words plainly show, he said, that it is the intention of God to conduct you to the place where all these mysteries are made known, that is, to the true Imám. If you give your attention to his teaching, you will be delivered from error, and the most sublime truths will be made quite clear to you. Do you not see, he continued, that you are ignorant about yourselves and so are ignorant of all other things. Has not God said:—"He who has been blind here, shall be blind hereafter, and wander far from the way."[7]

Having thus excited the desire of the neophyte, the Dá'i became as reticent as he had before been communicative. He said that all these matters were revealed to none but a few, and then only after a long and severe course of training, and that no one should be over eager in this matter. He quoted

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[1] Súra lxxxi. 16. [2] Súra ii. 57. [3] Súra ix. 36. [4] Súra li. 20-1.
[5] Súra xiv. 34. [6] Súra xli. 53. [7] Súra xvii. 74.

the verse, "Remember that We have entered into a covenant with prophets and with thee and with Noah, &c."[1] to show that no further steps could be taken, unless a covenant were made and a promise of loyalty and devotion to the Imám were given. The enquirer had to swear not to divulge any secrets, not to assist the enemies of the Imám, nor in any way whatever to swerve from an unquestioning obedience to his spiritual directors, and not to require a reason for any instruction given to him, or for any duty required of him.

The oath once taken, the enquirer entered upon the second degree, in which he learned that true knowledge came only through the Imáms, and that the calamities which had fallen on Islám were due to the general neglect of this truth. Not until he had thoroughly grasped this idea was he allowed to pass on to a higher stage.

The object of the third degree was to teach him that the reason why there were seven Imáms and no more was that there were seven planets, seven climates, seven heavens, and so on. The number seven is a sacred one. He was also taught that the Imámites in recognizing twelve Imáms had departed from the true Faith, that only to those who recognized Muḥammadu'l Ḥabíb as the seventh and last Imám would the mysteries of religion be revealed, and to such alone would be made known the exoteric and esoteric doctrine of things. All this was taught with much prudence and without haste.[2]

In the fourth degree he was taught matters of the utmost importance. He learned that the prophets entrusted with the production of new religions were seven in number[3]—Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, Muḥammad, and, last of all, Muḥammadu'l Ḥabíb, the son of Ismá'íl, in whose person was

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[1] Súra xxxiii. 7. See also Súras xxxiii. 23; v. 1; xvi. 93-94; ii. 77.

[2] الا ان ذلك يكون تفسير على احكام وتمهيد بغير مجازفة ولا استعجال

Nowari quoted by Silvestre de Sacy in *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, vol. 1. p. cxl.

[3] Each one is called a Nátiq.

gathered up and terminated all preceding knowledge—'Ulúmu'l-Awwalín—a term which may be said to denote the idea that the esoteric meaning of religion was perfectly known to him. As Muḥammadu'l Ḥabíb, then, alone had the key to all mysteries, as in him the "cycle of the old faiths with their positive precepts and inculcation of the letter" terminated, and as with him began "the knowledge of that allegorical significance latent in all the preceding religions," all who would be on the right path should follow him, in other words should become Ismá'ílians. Each prophet had a special companion, called Sús.[1] Thus Adam had Seth; Noah, Shem; Abraham, Ishmá'il; Moses, Aaron; Jesus, Simon Ṣufa,[2] or the pure one; Muḥammad, 'Ali. The proselyte who passed through this degree ceased to be a Muslim, for he could only attain to it by acknowledging a prophet posterior to Muḥammad, the founder of Islám, and a revelation which superseded the Qurán and all that had gone before. He was now committed to a very definite position of antagonism to the whole of the Muhammadan world. The great majority of men stopped here, for the other five degrees were confined to a select few.

In the fifth degree the enquirer was taught many mysterious things with regard to the use of numbers and, above all, that moral commands and religious ceremonies were to be explained allegorically. He also learnt that each Imám had twelve ministers, each called the Ḥujjat, or Proof, whose duty it was to make known his teaching to men.

In the sixth degree the very foundation of religious belief was attacked. Hitherto the proselyte had been taught that though one religion superseded another, yet all came originally from God. Now he learned that the opinions of philosophers were superior to those of the prophets, that

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[1] سوس the Druses use the form اساس Asás. The word سوس means source or origin: اساس is a foundation.

[2] Called الصفا the Pure: it is evidently meant for Cephas.

religious creeds were clever artifices to fetter reason. The race had now outgrown the need of such a fiction as revealed religion. The Arkán-i-dín, the obligatory practices of Islám, were all explained away allegorically, and so it was no longer necessary to observe them.

In the seventh degree it was shown that, as, according to the instruction given in the fourth degree, each great prophet had an assistant, so Ismá'íl had his son Muḥammadu'l-Ḥabíb. This led on to the teaching of the principle of dualism—something which gives and something which receives. It was explained that this principle was to be found in the Qurán and in religion. Thus of creation it is said, "When God createth a thing, He only saith 'Be' (كن)."[1] This is the first and the greater of two powers; but the second is found in the words, "All things have We created after a fixed decree[2] (قدر)." Thus will and necessity form a dualism. The Tablet and the Pen give another illustration. The Pen writes the Qurán, the Tablet receives it.[3] All this pointed to the existence of a dualistic principle in the universe. The object of it all was to destroy belief in Tauḥid, or the Unity.

Then came the eighth degree in which dualism was carried a stage further, and it was said that there were two Beings who rule the world, the one pre-existent to the other and raised above it. The pupil had by this time become completely bewildered and so was prepared for the final stage.

In the ninth degree the neophyte was led on to nihilism. There was no God, no law, no religion. All who maintained the truth and existence of these things were to be treated as enemies. The universe was eternal.

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[1] Súra iii. 42.

[2] Súra liv. 49.

[3] This is the Lauḥu'l Maḥfúẓ on which the decrees of God are written. It is referred to in Súra lxxxv. 21-2. "It is a glorious Qurán written on the concealed table."

Such were the methods by which the Ismá'ílians, emancipated from the control of a moral law, were formed into a fanatical sect, spreading destruction all around.[1]

When the various degrees had been passed through the initiation was complete, and after solemn oaths not to reveal anything, and to yield unquestioning and implicit obedience, further instructions were given to the new member of the confraternity as regards his conduct towards other men. If he met with a Shí'ah he was to express his sorrow at the cruel treatment 'Ali and his sons had received: if with a Sunni he must speak with respect of the Khalifs Abu Bakr, 'Umr and 'Usmán. To the Magian he should expatiate on the glory of the sun and moon, to the Jew he should extol the merits of the Messiah whose advent they longed for, and should also before them speak evil of Christians. With Christians he would refer with disdain to the Jews and would express belief in much of the Christian creeds, with the esoteric meaning of which he would say that he was well acquainted. In short, he would so conduct himself with all varieties of men that they might all be brought to acknowledge Muḥammadu'l Ḥabíb, as the Seal of the Prophets, the last and final teacher of men. To the fully iniatiated, he was to admit that the Imám was dead, that he comes now in a spiritual form and that those who have reached the highest stages have in spiritual methods intercourse with him. Sleight of hand, fascination of the eye, aptness to mislead were all to be cultivated, in order that he might make a show of miraculous power before the ignorant multitude.

In the year 288 A.H. one of these Dá'is proceeded to Africa and gained great influence there. He was known as Abu 'Abdu'lláh, the Shí'ah. He was one of the most remarkable men of the age, learned in all mystical lore, subtle in the formation of plans, quick and bold in carrying them out. He

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[1] A very full account of these nine degrees will be found in Silvestre de Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol, i. pp. lxxv-cxxxviii.

was a thorough believer in the Ismá'ílian system and an active propagandist of it. When he had settled upon his plans, he first went to Mecca and ingratiated himself with the pilgrims from Northern Africa, who invited him to visit their country. He did so and found the tribe of Ketama the most ready to accept his teaching, and to them he declared that he was the messenger of the Mahdi, who would come to them soon and by whose power many signs and wonders would be wrought. In due time he became their leader in war. The Ketama were termed the 'true believers,' on their banners was inscribed the verse of the Qurán 'Victory belongeth unto God', and on the official seal were the words 'The Orders of the Lord have been executed with truth and justice.' Great confusion then arose amongst the different African tribes which we need not follow now;[1] but the result was that Abú 'Abdu'lláh's power rapidly grew and a large army gathered round him. Town after town was taken, the inhabitants of which were cruelly massacred. This went on until the time was ripe for the advent of the so-called Mahdi, the Imám 'Ubaidu'lláh, whose father when at the point of death addressed his son thus, "you will be the Mahdi, you will fly to a distant country where you will undergo severe trials."

The Dá'i Abú 'Abdu'lláh now sent secret messengers to Syria to summon 'Ubaidu'lláh to Egypt, but this journey was not an easy matter to accomplish. The Khalif of Baghdad got news of the movement, and sent throughout his empire descriptions of the fugitive with strict orders that he was to be imprisoned. 'Ubaidu'lláh, disguised as a merchant, after many hairbreadth escapes, at last arrived in Egypt; but was soon taken prisoner, on suspicion, by the ruler of a place called Segelmessa, and with his son cast into a dungeon. Abú 'Abdu'lláh was profoundly grieved at this, and at once set forth to interview Elisa Ibn Medrar, the ruler of Segelmessa. His first envoys were put to death, which led to a state of war in which Abú

[1] For a full account, see Osborn's *Islám under the Arabs*, Part ii. Chapter 3.

'Abdu'lláh came off victorious. 'Ubaidu'lláh was then released amidst great demonstrations of joy. Thus 'Ubaidu'lláh came into power, but one of his first acts was, in true oriental fashion, to get rid of his powerful friend and subject. Abú 'Abdu'lláh was arrested on a charge of treason and put to death with a number of the Ketama chiefs. The Imám then breathed more freely, and after much conflict, conducted with the utmost cruelty, gradually grew more and more powerful. Between the years 303—306 A.H. 915—18 A.D., he built the city of Mehdia and when he saw it completed said:—"I am now at ease, regarding the fate of the Fáṭimides." After this, he assumed the Khalifate in Egypt. He was thus the first of the Fáṭimide Khalifs, a dynasty so called from the descent of these Imáms from 'Ali and Fáṭima, the daughter of the Prophet. The succeeding Khalifs had still to struggle on against opposition, but they gradually consolidated their power. In 359 A. H.—969 A. D. Cairo (Al Káhira—the Victorious) was founded, and the Fáṭimide rule was firmly established.[1]

Ḥákim ba amr Illáh,[2] with whom we are now concerned, became Khalif in 386 A. H.—996 A. D. His reign is one long history of cruel actions. He persecuted the Sunnis and all who were suspected of enmity to the descendants of 'Ali. Many of the Christians had been hitherto employed in various departments of the State and had attained to wealth. The anger of the Khalif was turned on them. For five years they endured a most bitter persecution. Their priests were flogged to death, their churches were destroyed, and the sacred vessels were taken to the palace of the Khalif, or sold in the streets and bazaars. The Jews were treated in a similar way. At length, weary with this constant slaughter, the Khalif ordered that those who remained alive should wear black garments, that the Christians should carry, suspended from their necks, a cross ten pounds in weight, and the Jews a piece of wood

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[1] For full details of the conquest of Egypt, see Osborn's *Islám under the Arabs*, Part ii. Chapter 4.

[2] The name means "The ruler by the command of God."

carved like a calf's head, to remind them of their apostasy at Sinai. They were forbidden to use embroidered saddles, and their stirrups had to be of wood. Muslims were not allowed to hold intercourse with them, nor slave dealers to sell them slaves.[1]

In the year 400 A.H. Ḥákim ordered the destruction of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, partly, it is said, to outrage the memory of the Khalif 'Umr who had spared it. The result of this wholesale persecution was that many persons became renegades, while others gave up all distinctive signs of being Christians and passed as Muslims.

Ḥákim sometimes obliged his Muslim subjects to follow the Shí'ah ritual in prayer and sometimes left them at liberty. At other times he abolished the namáz and the k͟huṭba, or the public prayers and the Friday sermon, in the month of Ramaẓán. He set aside the feast at the end of that month, and for many years he stopped the pilgrimage to Mecca, the ceremonies connected with which he described as foolish and extravagant. He ceased to send the annual present of the Kiswah, or the covering for the Ka'bah at Mecca, which had hitherto been sent and is now despatched annually with much ceremony.[2] He released his subjects from the payment of the legal alms, suspended the law of Jihád, and set aside the decrees of the Khalifs Abú Bakr, 'Umr and 'Us̤mán, whose memory he denounced and cursed, and caused inscriptions to that effect to be written on the walls of the mosques in Cairo. One of his mad freaks was to amuse himself in this way. He caused a deep reservoir to be made in the palace, paved with marble of different colours to represent birds, which seemed through the transparent water to be sitting on a carpet or mat. Near the edge of the reservoir was a plank, heavily weighted at one end. When his guests were assembled, Ḥákim offered a reward of six hundred pieces of gold to any one who would

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[1] For the Fatvás, or judicial decrees against them, see the next chapter 'The Status of the Z̤immis.

[2] See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, Vol. ii. p. 213.

go on the plank towards the birds. The desire of so much wealth led some to attempt it, with the result that they overbalanced, fell into the pool and were drowned.

All this strange conduct on the part of the Khalif horrified the good Muslims. It is very difficult to understand how they could have borne with it; but it must be remembered that the Fáṭimide Khalifs, though nominally Muslims, practically denied the chief dogmas of Islám. The orthodox hold that the Law given by Muḥammad was final and that nothing could be added to it. The Fáṭimide rulers, on the contrary, held that they themselves were incarnations of the Divine Reason, and that they alone were the interpreters of the inner meaning of the positive precepts of the Law. "Their doctrine was that all the phenomena of this sensible and material world were types or symbols of corresponding realities in the spiritual and unseen world. Every positive precept of the Law was an allegorical statement of some unseen verity: and as one pure and universal Reason presided over the spiritual world above, so it was necessary that in this lower world also the pure Reason should be incarnate in a visible person. That Reason was so incarnate in Ismá'íl and in his descendants: it was so also in the Fáṭimide Khalifs of Egypt."[1] They were in the words of the Qurán, 'a fire lighted by God which penetrated the hearts of men.' All preceding dispensations had led up to this one. The knowledge of God could only be acquired through the Imám, and the only true Imám was the Fáṭimide Khalif of the age. This position the Ismá'ílians accepted, and it explains their tolerance of monsters of cruelty like Ḥákim.[2]

Ḥákim now came under the influence of a man named Darázi, a leading Dá'i of the Báṭini section of the Ismá'ílian sect. Darázi encouraged the Khalif in his pretensions to divinity, which he had announced in the year 408 A.H.[3], and publicly

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[1] Osborn's *Islám under the Arabs*, p. 247.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 249-250.

[3] This date is the commencement of the era of the Druses.

taught that Ḥákim was the creator of the Universe. He wrote a book to show that the soul of Adam passed into 'Ali, and that the soul of 'Ali had entered into the ancestors of Ḥákim, in whom it now resided. The result was that Darázi was promoted to high offices in the State and gained much influence. At length the people resented this and Darázi was slain by them. The Druses deny that this was the case, and say that he was secretly sent away by the Khalif to Syria, where he preached with much success.

Another man, Akhram, succeeded Darázi and ascribed divine honours to Ḥákim, and exhorted men to accept this dogma.[1] One day he presented to the Court of Justice a petition headed, 'In the name of Ḥákim, the merciful and clement.' This travesty of the Bismilláh roused the anger of the Qázi, and Akhram with difficulty escaped punishment by flight. His companions on the occasion were all killed by the indignant audience.

A third man, Ḥamza, now appeared and preached the same doctrine. It is this man whom the Druses look up to as the author of their religion. He took the name of Hádi, or guide, and called himself the "Life of those who submit."[2] He says of himself, "I am the master of the Day of Judgment, by me all good things come without cessation. I abrogate preceding laws and exterminate all polytheists and the deluded. I destroy the Qiblas, and abolish the two systems of belief, *i.e.*, the Tanzíl, or orthodox Islám, preached by the Prophet, and especially the literal interpretation of the words employed in the Qurán, when speaking of God and which seem to attribute to Him a human form[3] and the Táwíl,[4] or allegorical system, preached by 'Ali and the Imáms of his race. I deliver the instructions to the teachers of religion. I am the chief

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[1] De Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, vol. i. p. 431.

[2] الهادى و حياة المستجيبين

[3] Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, vol. ii. p. 490.

[4] This term is also used of Christians, with reference to their interpretation of the words of the Gospels.

of the age, the possessor of power, the guide of men to the obedience of God, most merciful."

Ḥákim now boasted that he had personal intercourse with God, as Moses had had at Sinai. By a very complete system of espionage he had perfect information of all that was going on, and then adduced this knowledge as a proof of his supernatural power. When he passed along the streets, the people said:—"O thou only one, the unique, who givest life and death." Many who did not say this were beheaded. Ḥamza claimed for him miraculous powers, and said that paper and ink would not suffice to write them all down, according to the statement in the Qurán:—"If all the trees on the earth were to become pens, and, if God should after that swell the sea into seven seas of ink, His words would not be exhausted."[1] In accordance with Ḥamza's custom of applying the term Alláh to the humanity of Ḥákim, this verse is said to refer to the multitude of the marvels wrought by him.[2]

So, the sect of the Darázis, which Ḥákim now openly joined, grew largely in numbers and in power. One of these men went to Mecca, struck the black stone of the Ka'ba, damaged it, and said to the astonished pilgrims, "Why do you adore and kiss this which is useless and hurtful, and all the while neglect him who in Egypt gives life and death?"

One day when the courtiers were assembled before Ḥákim, one of them read the following verse:—"We have not sent any Apostle but to be obeyed, if God so will; but if they, after they have sinned to their own hurt, come to thee and ask pardon of God and the Apostle ask pardon for them, they shall surely find that God is He who turneth unto men."[3] A learned Muslim who was present at once read the verse, "Verily, they on whom ye call beside God, cannot create a fly, though

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[1] Súra xxxi. 27.

[2] An account of these is given in Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, vol. i. pp. 159-165. What this Author calls the "Actions ridicules, bizarres et extravagantes de Ḥákím" are given in fuller detail in pp. 165-189.

[3] Súra iv. 68.

they assembled first."[1] Ḥákim, on hearing this, was much annoyed and changed countenance; but he dissembled before the audience and gave the old man a present. His friends, however, advised him to leave Cairo, which he very wisely did.

It was considered to be an act of impiety and derogatory to Ḥákim to present before him what he had not asked for, to address him without being first spoken to, to raise the voice when speaking to him, or to make any signs with the hands or the eyes. For many years he had his palace lit up at night and kept dark during the day. One of his amusements was to write letters, addressed to one of his officials, and to throw them out of the window. Those who passed by picked them up and, on presenting them to the person named in the address, some found that the letters contained orders for money which they received, others that their letters instructed the officers to give them a good beating, which they also received.

On the authority of Ḥamza it is recorded that Ḥákim did not attend the Friday namáz, or public prayer, in the Mosque, that he absolved his subjects from the giving of alms, that he discouraged the pilgrimage to Mecca, stigmatizing its ceremonies as acts of folly, that he allowed the fast of Ramaẓán to be broken before mid-day on the last day.[2] He entirely repudiated the view that divine authority rested on the four first Khalifs, and after that passed on to the House of 'Ummaya and to the House of 'Abbás,' for he affixed to gates in public places curses on them all and desecrated their graves.

Ḥákim also allowed the Ismá'ílian Dá'is to hold meetings in which their peculiar tenets were fully expounded. He was merciless to his attendants and all around him, and seemed

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[1] Súra xxii. 72.

[2] With their usual love for allegory, the Druses say that "before mid-day" means when Ḥamza was absent; and "after mid-day" when he was again present in the world. To fast means to renounce the Tanzíl and the Táwíl (ante p. 159) and to profess the Tauḥíd, or doctrine of the Unity.

to look upon slaughter also as a mere pastime. One day he ordered a large collection of firewood and straw to be made in which he intended to burn all the Qáris, or Qurán Readers, of the capital and all the clerks in the Government Offices. The victims then went in procession to the Palace, weeping bitterly, and falling at the feet of the Khalif begged for mercy. He cancelled his order, but looked elsewhere for subjects of his anger. He slew the grooms in the royal stables, then the eunuchs, then the slaves attached to the Palace establishment, and so glutted his diabolical thirst for blood. He forbade the sale of beer because 'Ali disliked it, and prohibited a certain kind of vegetable because the Khalif Múavia had relished it. He prohibited the sale of raisins, of grapes and destroyed the vineyards. The honey collected in the store room of the Cairo merchants be cast into the Nile. Inscriptions denouncing the companions of the Prophet were placed on the walls of the mosques and streets. Then he changed his mind and flogged those who spoke evil of these men. During his various persecutions, it is said that 18,000 persons were slain. He published a decree forbidding women to appear in the streets, or to leave their houses; and those who disregarded it were put to death. One day when passing by a bath he heard sounds of merriment. On ascertaining that women were there, he ordered the doors to be bricked up and so left the poor women to die of hunger. A trick played upon him by the women of Cairo so enraged him that he allowed about a third of the city to be destroyed by fire. Half of it was plundered and a great number of its citizens were put to death. He threatened his sister Sittu'l Mulk (The Lady of the Empire), whom he considered to have been the cause of the insult given to him, with death; but she was beforehand with him and formed a plan to murder him. This object she successfully accomplished in the year 411 A.H.[1]—1020 A.D.

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[1] It is said by Makrízi that he was not murdered at the instigation of his sister, but by a man who, being arrested four years after, confessed his guilt. Amir 'Ali's *Short History of the Saracens*, p. 603.

Ḥákim's body was not found, and so his followers say that he was not really slain. Ḥamza gave out that he had disappeared on account of the sins of the people, and prohibited any search being made for him.[1] Thus passed away one of the greatest monsters of cruelty whom the world has ever seen,[2] but whom, nevertheless, the Druses for nearly a thousand years have worshipped as a god.

We have already referred to the large body of Dá'is, connected with the Ismá'ílian sect. Ḥákim built in Cairo a college, called the Dáru'l Ḥikmat, or Hall of Science for the education of these missionaries. Twice a week the grand Prior of the Order convened a Lodge meeting for those who were to be initiated into the various degrees, and for the exposition of the dogmas of the sect. Some years after, Ḥasan ibn Ṣabaḥ, afterwards the Grand Master of the Assassins, came to one of these meetings. In his early youth he had been a friend of the well-known 'Umr Khayyám. He came to Egypt during the reign of the Khalif Al Mustanṣir, who received him with marks of favour. This led to jealousy on the part of other officials, and at last Ḥasan found himself in prison. Having gained his freedom he spent three years in Syria, preaching the Ismá'ílian doctrines, and made many converts, until, at last, partly by force, partly by stratagem, he obtained possession of a fortress called Alamut, or the 'Vulture's nest'. The stratagem was this. He was allowed to take as much land as a bull's hide would cover, so he cut the hide into strips

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[1] A good account of Ḥákim's character and habits will be found in Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. i. pp. ccccxxx—xxxvii, and in Osborn's *Islám under the Arabs*, Part ii. Chapter iv.

[2] "Ce Prince avait l'aspect aussi terrible qu'un lion, ses yeux étaient grands et d'un bleu rembruni, on ne pouvait soutenir son regard, sa voix était forte et effrayante. Son caractère était la bizarrerie et l'inconstance jointes à la cruauté, et l'impiété unie à la superstition. Il adorait, dit-on, d'une manière spéciale la planète de Saturne et croyait avoir des conférences avec Satan. On assure que dans le cours de son règne 18,000 personnes furent victimes de sa férocité." Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. i. p. ccccxxix.

and surrounded the fort with them. He now determined to raise himself to independent power and the means he used were devotion and the dagger.

He carefully instructed his followers in the most extreme form of the Ismá'ílian cult, and pointed out to them that sufficient care had not been taken to conceal from the general public the blank atheism to which the system ultimately led. So, whilst appearing as a follower of 'Ali, he enjoined an outward observance of all the orthodox usages; but he ever kept before the minds of his adherents the coming of the Mahdi, now present in the Fáṭimide Khalif of Egypt and soon to appear as the conqueror of the world. The age was one of war and strife, and this longing for the 'expected one', who was to bring peace and quietness, was to men weary of life a constant and reviving hope which lightened the burden of existence. To carry out his plans, Ḥasan instituted a hierarchy of seven grades, he himself being the Shaikh, or the head of all. In addition to the Dá'is, he had one order, called the Fidávís, or the devoted ones. These were the Assassins. They were carefully selected for their strength and courage and absolute submission to his will. They were taught that as the Prophet had slain Jews in Madína, so they were aiding true religion by putting away its enemies.

So completely were they under Ḥasan Ṣabaḥ's influence, and so obedient were they to his will, that at his command one stabbed himself, and another cast himself over the battlements of the fortress to convince a visitor of the power of their leader. When the Shaikh required the service of any of them, the Fidávís selected for the special service were stupefied with opium, and carried into a splendid garden, where they awoke amidst all that could appeal to the sensual appetites—perfume of flowers, cool fountains of waters, companies of beautiful damsels. A few days were thus passed when they were again drugged and brought back to ordinary life, ready to obey any order given to them. The memory of those days of delight was looked upon as a taste of Paradise, from the continual

enjoyment of which only life hindered them, and to which death was the door of admission. The Grand Master had shown them what it was, and obedience to his will and death in his cause would lead to a more enduring state of such joy. No wonder that the Fidávís were devoted to Ḥasan.

Next to these came two orders, consisting of the novices and of the common people. As regards these latter, the usual religious duties of Islám were not relaxed, for Ḥasan knew that in their case the binding force of law and of custom was necessary. It was only the initiated who possessed the greater freedom or license, and who inwardly rejected all positive dogma. The summary of their teaching has been described as, "to believe nothing and to dare everything."

Ḥasan was called the Shaikhu'l Jibál, chief of the mountains, hence the name by which he is commonly known, "Old man of the mountains." He died in the year 508 A.H., but his family continued in power until destroyed by Halaku Khan in 654 A.H.—1256 A.D.

It is said that Darázi,[1] after his departure from Egypt, won over the inhabitants of the Lebanon to his views in the year 410 A.H., but Ḥamza is regarded as the real founder of the Druses. He became a great opponent of Darázi and denounced him, and so we have the curious fact of a sect's being called by the name of a man whom its founder repudiated.

The basis of the religion is this. God is one and He alone is to be adored. He has often manifested Himself under human forms, but his last and final manifestation is in the Lord Ḥákim.[2] He is exalted far above all names which men employ to designate Him and which are suitable only to His

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[1] Ante p. 158.

[2] "Cette doctrine est encore enseignée d'une manière bien précise par Béha-eddin. Il y établit que Dieu serait coupable d'injustice, si, après avoir manifesté la doctrine unitaire comme il l'a fait sous la figure nommée Ḥákim, il faisait succéder encore d'autres figures à celle-là." Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. i. p. 216.

creatures.[1] "He cannot cease to exist, nor can he pass from one to another. He dwells immutably in the glory of his Sovereign Majesty, and is distinguished from all others by the eternity of his Unity."[2] That Unity has no bounds, no origin, no end. By a true confession of the Unity, rightly believed, men gain eternal life; failing this, they perish eternally. It is said:—"The commencement of piety is to know God." Believers in the Unity are of three kinds. First, those who follow Tanzíl, *i.e.*, the letter of the Qurán, and these are the Sunni Muslims; secondly those who follow Táwíl, or allegory and these are the Shí'ahs; thirdly those who confess the Unity in their hearts, who in thought disengage it of all attributes, and do not conceive of it under any words or figures, nor under any definition. According to the books of the Druses there are two dangers to be avoided in the idea one forms of the Unity of God. They are expressed by the words Tashbih and Ta'ṭíl. The first word signifies comparison and in theological language comparison with something created; the second means a stripping off, and, in its application to God, the denial in Him of any attributes as being incompatible with His Unity. Some extreme forms of the Mutazala doctrine led to those who upheld them being called Mu'ṭṭalún.[3] In some respects the Druses are close followers of the Mutazalas who, on this question of the attributes of God, held that the attributes of God were not eternal and had no real existence in the divine essence, which was in direct conflict with the orthodox view, that the attributes were eternally inherent in the essence of God.[4] The Druses also follow the

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[1] This seems to refer to some usage by which the names الله الرحمان الرحيم "Alláh, the merciful, the clement," are used to designate certain ministers in the Druse hierarchy. Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. i. p. 3.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. i. p. 218.

[3] معطّلون

[4] See Sell's *Faith of Islám*, pp. 173-175.

Mutazalas in their views on the question of the freedom of the will.[1]

Ḥamza himself taught thus: "God cannot be expressed under any name, or any attribute. I do not speak of Him as the Ancient, because this is created and it is God who gives existence. He is neither the First, which implies relation to a Second; nor the Last, which presupposes a preceding one. We cannot say that He has soul or spirit, for that implies resemblance to created beings; we cannot, in connection with Him, speak of body, form, substance, accident, for all these imply relation to time and space. I do not say He is a thing, for that is subject to destruction. I do not say He is not a thing, for that means non-existence. He does not stand or sit. Though the divine nature cannot be expressed in words, yet to enable us to see the veil under which He is hidden, in order that He may be adored under a form exterior and evident to our senses, He manifests Himself in the human form of Ḥákim. Thus the words and actions of that form are the words and actions of God. But in thus rendering Himself intelligible to men, God does not cease to be the Infinite, the Incomprehensible."

In an ascription of praise to God, Ḥamza says:—"Praise be to Thee, who are distinguished by grandeur and by power, and art far above above all creatures; who dost exist always in every age, time and place, who art beyond all comparison, definition and description, who cannot be multiplied by any number, nor augmented by any growth, nor be related to any genealogy;[2] who art the powerful without a rival, the victor against whom is no refuge; the judge not subject to judgment; thou who orderest all by Thy own free will, who art exalted far above all sounds and words."[3] Ḥákim himself is said to have appeared in ten persons at different periods of

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[1] Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. ii. p. 471.

[2] *i.e.*, has neither ancestors nor descendants.

[3] بامرك العالي الممجّد عن مقارنة الاصوات و اللغات

time and in various places. The whole subject is extremely obscure;[1] but the general idea seems to be that the personality of Ḥákim, human and divine, was the same under all these diverse manifestations. They were but veils to cover him and their actions and their words were all his. He is highly exalted above all creatures, and one of the reasons given for this is the peculiar and real nature of his existence in all these varied personifications which, from time to time, have appeared in the world. One object in all this is to remove the doubts of men, and to incline their hearts to the true confession of the Adorable Unity, which is free of all attributes.

The habits and the dress of Ḥákim all have some special signification to the Druses. He rode on an ass, an animal which is the emblem of the Legislator. It is said that in the verse, "the least pleasing of voices is surely the voice of asses"[2] the asses represent the prophets who support the exterior law. The black woollen robe he wore signifies the trials through which his followers must pass. In some of his wilder moods he had gatherings of buffoons employed to dance, and those present amused themselves with playful striking of each other with whips, while the most obscene language was used and the most obscene actions were performed. This is all looked upon as allegorical. The dancing refers to prophets and their dispensations which have whirled away, the whipping means that knowledge is not hurtful, the obscenity refers to the power of the male over the female and resembles Ḥákim's power over unbelievers. Ḥákim is the supreme ruler over all Imáms and Ḥájis. He is Ḥákim ba Ẕátihi, that is, Lord in his own nature, Ḥákim ba amr Illáh, that is, Lord by the command of God, and He is the Qá'im, or the Durable. He is even called Alláh. Ḥamza said that the term Alláh may be considered under three relations, that is, simply as a word composed of letters,

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[1] Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses,* Vol. i. pp. 18-91.

[2] Súra xxxi. 18.

or as the being so designated, or as he to whom in a figurative way the name may be given. In the last use, it means the supreme Dá'í, who is Ḥákim, and the hidden divinity which dwells in him.[1]

The term Al Ḥákim, the Ruler, shows his sovereign authority over each Náṭiq, or Legislator of preceding dispensations; also over the Asás[2], the Imáms and the Ḥájis who are all his servants. He is also called Al Qá'im, a name also used by Ḥamza, omitting the article Al. This use of the article in Ḥákim's case signifies that no one else can be compared with him.[3]

There was a very curious discussion about the use of the phrase, "The peace of God be upon him," a phrase used after the name of a prophet. It was considered derogatory to use it after the name of Ḥákim, as placing him in an inferior position. The argument against it was based on the text, "God witnesseth that there is no God but He, and the angels and men endued with knowledge and established in righteousness proclaim, 'There is no God but He, the mighty, the wise. The true religion with God is Islám.'"[4] The Druses say that it is Muḥammad who here speaks, and that he witnesseth that our Lord (Ḥákim) is God; the angels are the Ḥájis, the men endued with knowledge are the Dá'is. Thus the true Muslim should acknowledge Ḥákim as God.

It is believed that the Druses worship Ḥákim under the

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[1] لاهوت الكلى الذى هو محجوب عنا

[2] Ante p. 152.

[3] This is explained thus:—The letters of the article Al, ال are reversed to make لا and La means no, or not, and thus Al Qá'im comes to be equal to La Qá'im, and so there is no Qá'im equal to Ḥákim. An argument as to the numbers of the ministers in the hierarchy is also made from two of the letters in Ma'búd, the Adored, a name of Ḥákim. Thus عبد 'abd, is a servant, or an adorer: معبود ma'búd, the adored, has two additional letters م and و. The numerical value of these letters is forty-six, which is fixed as the number of the ministers, or those who serve.

[4] Súra iii. pp. 16-17.

form of a golden calf; but some say that this is used not as an object of worship, but as an emblem of the dominant religions, superseded by their system. Some say that they repudiate idolatry, and compare Judaism, Christianity, and Islám to a calf. Others say that it represents Iblis, the Devil, who is the rival of Ḥákim.

The hierarchy of the Druses is formed on the model of that of the Báṭinis. The five chief leaders are Universal Intelligence, or simply Intelligence[1] manifested in Ḥamza; Soul in Ismá'il ibn Muḥammad; Word (Logos) in Abu 'Abdu'lláh Muḥammad; Preceder in Abú'l Khair Salama; Follower in Abú'l Ḥasan. They are also called the Ḥadúd, a word signifying boundaries, but applied in the Qurán to the laws and precepts of God[2] which must not be transgressed. Thus the assertion that he who does not know the Ḥadúd, or five Ministers, is ignorant of the true religion is supported by the verse, "This is the precept (حدّ.—Ḥadd) of God and whoso transgresseth the precept of God imperilleth his own self."[3] This use of the word is borrowed from the Báṭinis who freely allegorised words taken from the Qurán. This makes it extremely difficult to get at any very clear understanding of the Druse hierarchy, for Ḥamza, the chief authority on it, wrote for the most part for those who had already been initiated unto the Báṭini system and so does not enter into detail with regard to the explanation of mystical terms, with the meaning of which his readers were supposed to be acquainted.

These Ministers may be regarded as spiritual, or as corporeal beings. In the first case they always bear the same name, in the second their names may vary according to the different epochs of their several manifestations. In this personified

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[1] According to the Tradition اول ما خلق الله العقل—The first thing God created was intelligence.

[2] حدود is the plural of حدّ . See Súras lviii. 7; lxv. 1.

[3] Súra lxv.1.

form they have been opposed by five ministers of error,[1] who, though contemporary opponents, were really personifications of Muḥammad, Abú Bakr, 'Uṣmán, 'Umr, 'Ali, who were also ministers of error, because they taught and expounded an exterior law and not its esoteric meaning. Thus they missed its real point and led men astray from the truth—the confession of the divinity of the Lord Ḥákim.

The Intelligence is Ḥamza from whom all knowledge emanates. Since the time of Adam he has appeared in the world under seven different manifestations. He was created from the light of God before all worlds. Existing before all things, he will survive all. The period between the manifestations is called the Fatrah,[2] but though then concealed he was still alive.

The Soul proceeds from Intelligence and bears to it the relation of female to male, but with regard to the other ministers it has the rank of male. In the person of Ismá'íl, it was the vicar of Ḥamza, having authority over the rest of the Ministers and over all believers.[3] The Soul in its manifestation under Ismá'íl is called the Mujtabá, or Chosen.[4] The verse "I betake

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[1] Their names are given in Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. ii. p. 34.

[2] فترة a term meaning interruption, and generally used by Muḥammadans to denote the period of time which passes between the mission of one prophet and another. It is also applied to the period in the early ministry of Muḥammad when his inspiration ceased for a while. See Sell's *Faith of Islám*, p. 4.

[3] In connection with this a curious mystical interpretation is given of the words "a Paradise vast as the heavens and the earth" Súra iii. 27. If 'vast' refers to breadth what is its length? where is there room for hell? So the literal meaning is said to be wrong. The correct one is as follows. Vastness has length and breadth. The length is the Intelligence, the Imám of the Faithful; the breadth is the Soul which is the aid of the Intelligence—القابل بركات العقل و التاييد —and from which come all spiritual forms—الصور الروحانيه—as the child comes from the mother. Length and breadth must then be conjoined, and so Intelligence and Soul, these two Ministers cannot be separated. The blessing derived from them forms the fruit of Paradise, which is the Knowledge free from error. This is said to be the 'Vast Paradise' of which the Qurán speaks.

[4] مُجتبى This manifestation is said to have taken place in 411 A. H. Ismá'íl was a Dá'i of the Báṭini sect before he accepted the teaching of Ḥamza.

myself for refuge to the Lord of Men, the King of Men, the God of Men"[1] is said to refer to the Soul, because the lower Ministers having been produced by the union of Intelligence with Soul, the latter stands to them in a superior relation, and is to them the viceregent of Ḥamza, the Intelligence and so is king of men.

The Soul in one of its previous manifestations appeared in John the Baptist, and in him bore witness to the Messiah of that age, just as in its later manifestation it bore witness to Ḥamza, the Messiah of another period.

The third Minister, the Word, is produced from Soul by Intelligence and so ranks third in the hierarchy. It was a term used by the Báṭinis and was probably borrowed from the Logos of the Christians. Abú 'Abdu'lláh Muḥammad in whom it was manifested was surnamed Ridha and is called the Ambassador of Power.[2] The charge over all subordinate Ministers, Dá'ís and others was committed to him.[3] He is also called the Wing, the Wing of the Lord,[4] in reference to the verse, "Praise be to God, the maker of heaven and of the earth, who employeth the Angels as envoys, with pairs of wings two, three and four."[5]

The fourth minister is the Preceder,[6] which is produced from Word by Soul.[7] He is also called the Right Wing.

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[1] Súra cxiv. 1-3.

[2] سفير القدر

[3] For full instructions as to his duties, see Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. ii. pp. 262, 271.

[4] الجناح الربّانى . This name "Wing" is also given to the fourth and the fifth Ministers, who are distinguished as Right Wing—الجناح الايمن and the Left Wing—الجناح الايسر.

[5] Súra xxxv. 1.

[6] سابق

[7] It is called the Preceder, because in the Báṭini system it held the first rank, preceding all other Ministers. For the difference between the order of Ministers in the Báṭini system and in that of the Druses, see Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. ii. p. 276.

The Follower,[1] called also the Left Wing, is sometimes named Beháu'd-dín, a man famous amongst the Druses and who was a most prolific author.

In the next order after these five principal ministers come the Dá'í, the Máẕún and the Mukassir. The work of the Dá'i has been already described.[2] As his name signifies he is one who calls men to the acceptance of the truth. Immediately under him is the Máẕún,[3] one who has received permission to destroy men's beliefs in their old religions, and so to prepare them for the acceptance of a new one.[4] Then subordinate to both comes the Mukassir,[5] who also breaks down the wall of doubt and by his presentation of the truth bears down all resistance.

These three ministers also possess allegorical names. The Dá'i is called the Endeavour,[6] on account of his great devotion to the sacred cause. The Máẕún is called the Opener,[7] as he opens the door of entrance to all aspirants after the truth. The Mukassir is named the Phantom,[8] who by his discourses gives a glimpse of the truth without unveiling the whole.[9]

There are a few other names which frequently occur in the Druse books. The Nátiq is one of the great prophets who introduces a new religion into the world. Each one has a subordinate Sús who succeeds him.[10] During the existence of

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1 The directions given to this Minister will be found in Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. ii. pp. 198-308. For his place in the Báṭini system, see pp. 314-5, 319.

2 Ante p. 149.

3 مأذون

4 مَن اذن لهم فى الكسر و الجبر

5 مُكسِّر

6 جِدّ

7 فتحا

8 خِيال

9 سمّى الداعى الجِدّ لانه جدّ فى طلب العلم مِن الامام و سمّى الماذون فتحا لانه يفتح باب العهد و الميثاق على المستجيبين و سمّى المكاسر الخِيال لانه يلوّح بعلمه و مكاسرته مثل الخيال اذكان له التلويح بالكلام بغير كشف و لاتبيان

Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. ii. p. 19.

10 Ante p. 152.

each such religion there is a succession of seven ministers called Samets, or silent ones. They are also called Imáms and each Imám has twelve Ḥujjats,[1] or Proofs, who go into the world and teach the doctrines of their master. The 'Aqqáls,[2] or the most wise, are those members of the inner circle to whom alone the most esoteric dogmas of the religion are known.

Amongst those who believe in the existence of such Ministers of the Faith there are different ways of classifying them; but Ḥamza maintains that his method, which is given above, is the only true one and that all others are completely wrong. Lengthy discussions, too wearisome to reproduce here, have been held on this subject.[3] Some of the Ministers also have many different names.[4] The Druses believe in the transmigration of souls, which, according to their views, first came into existence after the creation of the Minister, who is called Intelligence, that is, Ḥamza. They were formed from his light. The soul of a Druse after his death passes into the body of another Druse: that of a polytheist into another polytheist. The number of souls is fixed and they neither increase nor diminish as the years roll by. Their re-appearance in different forms is closely connected with good or evil deeds done in a previous life.[5] When an infidel, who has become a convert and, for a while, follows the path marked out for him by his Dá'i, recants and becomes a renegade and then dies, his soul returns to its original state, perverse and corrupt. The future lot of all such is to eat no food, but that of corrupt sores[6] and to have no drink save the boiling water of hell. This punishment of apostates is a cause of great joy to the Faithful.

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1 حجّة .

2 عقال plural of عاقل a wise man.

3 Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. ii. pp. 19—27.

4 *Ibid*, Vol. ii. pp. 59—61.

5 بل تظهر بظهورات مختلفات الصور على مقدار اكتسابها من خير و شرّ
Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. ii. p. 414.

6 Súra lxix. 36. غِلين , translated as above by Rodwell.

The Druses hold that man is formed of three parts, intelligence and soul, which they term substance, and a material part, the body, which they call accident. The body is the outward case or form.[1] Its union with intelligence and soul—the spiritual part of man—constitutes a person:[2] into varied forms of which the soul passes again and again. The punishment is a severe one when it passes from a person of high religious rank into that of a lower one.[3]

Some authors describe the transmigration of souls from man into the lower animals. Those of Christians, for instance, are said to pass into the bodies of apes and pigs. Ḥamza apparently did not accept this view, but believed in a spiritual transmigration.[4]

Some pious souls ceased to migrate after the advent of Intelligence, who came in the person of Ḥamza, and are now simply awaiting the day of judgment. They are concealed with the Imám, and when he re-appears in glory to execute judgment on the unbelievers they will form his retinue. They are called the Exalted People, the People Most High, the Sacred Lights, the inhabitants of A'ráf.[5]

The terms, 'resurrection' and 'the last day' denote the time when the doctrine of the Unity will be made known to all people, and all other religions will be abolished, and when

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1 قميص—Chemise.

2 شخص

3 ونقلته من قميص الى قميص Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses* Vol. ii. p. 439.

4 This is called تغيير الصور—change of forms; the material transmigration is called مسخ or مسوخية, which word, according to Sacy, is used by Ḥamza only once. Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. ii. p. 433.

5 "On (the wall) Al A'ráf shall be men who know all by their tokens, and they shall cry to the inhabitants of Paradise, 'Peace on you'; but they shall not enter into it, although they long to do so." Súra vii. 44. Some Muslim Commentators say that these persons are those whose good and evil deeds exactly balance each other, and so their condition is not fixed; others say they are the saints and holy martyrs. The Druses agree with the latter opinion. For an explanation of Al A'ráf, see Sell's *Faith of Islám*, pp. 227-8.

the lot of believers and unbelievers will be irrevocably fixed. There are differences of opinion as to the events which will usher in the last day, Before the death of Ḥákim, it was believed that it would occur in his lifetime and that he in person would triumph over all enemies. His followers were called upon to destroy the polytheists, to abolish their religions, to massacre those who walked in the path of error, to exterminate the men, and to take captive the women and the children.

After the death of Ḥákim, the Druses were bidden not to be discouraged at the delay, but to look forward with hope and confidence to his return,[1] when by the aid of the ministry of Ḥamza, the victory over all opponents will be complete. He will come surrounded, as with a veil, by multitudes of holy angels, and by a vast host of cherubim. The figure under which he will re-appear is called the "spiritual resurrection form."[2] The humanity in which he will come is called the abode or domicile.[3] The signs of his advent will, for the most part, be those to which Muslims look forward as destined to happen before the Day of Judgment. One special sign will be the falling of a thunderbolt on the Ka'ba, the destruction of houses in Mecca and the ruin, through earthquakes, of Mosques in Syria. Then the enemies of 'Ali will be compelled to wear heavy earrings made of lead and to pay a tax. The Jews and Christians will have earrings of iron and their tax will be heavier still. The severest punishment is to be reserved for the apostates, whose

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[1] It was said that he would re-appear in Egypt in the month of Jamádi, or of Rajab. يا ربّ انجز وعدهم بوليّهم فى دار مصر فى جمادى يا رجب

[2] الصور الانبعثية الروحانية

[3] The following expressions can also be used محل القدس—the Holy Place; قدس الامامة—the Sanctuary of the Imámat; محل الطهارة—the Place of purity. Sacy, however, considers that these terms are more properly applied, not to the person of Ḥákim himself, but to the palace in which he will dwell after his return. *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. ii. pp. 226.

earrings will be of glass, which in summer burn like fire and in winter are as cold as ice. Their head-dress will be made of pig skin.

The Lord Ḥákim will be adored in all languages, and with a loud voice people in all lands will say:—"To whom does the Kingdom now and for ever belong?" The reply will be, "To the Lord Ḥákim, the victorious, the powerful." Those who, before the day of resurrection, believed, who confessed the Unity, who accepted the Imámat, and the various orders of the spiritual hierarchy, will now enter into the felicity of life eternal; but those who did not these things will be delivered up to torment for ever.

In order to sustain the courage of those who suffered persecution, Ḥámza spoke much of the triumphant return of Ḥákim, and in figurative language bade them beware of the flowing river of Tanzíl, whose waters were muddy, and of the stream of Táwíl, whose waters were sweet but deadly. They were to fear the darkness which precedes the dawn of Ḥákim's advent. Those who belonged to the Lord Ḥákim would find in him a powerful protector, when with angels and with Cherubim he would appear in all his royal splendour. Then would all men bow in subjection to him. The Mízán, or balances[1] would be prepared, all actions tried, all excuses taken away from the wicked, and rewards be given to the good. The true believers would have abundance of gold and silver, authority would be given to them to rule in the new Kingdom: they would be the Amírs, the Shahs, the Sultans of the coming age.

Meanwhile the Druse religion excels all others and is superior to them. Previous religions have been those introduced by the Nátiqs,[2] and being exoteric beliefs are known as Tanzíl; but each Nátiq before he passed away nominated an Asás, who gave the esoteric meaning of the religion founded by his master. This is known as Táwíl. Thus the Nátiq and the Asás combine

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[1] See Sell's *Faith of Islám*, p. 225. [2] Ante p. 173.

together as it is said,—"and of everything have We created pairs;"[1] but all this is inferior to the religion of the Unity.[2] The following verse of the Qurán is cited as a proof of this fact. "Between them shall be set a wall with a gateway, within which shall be the mercy, and, in front, without it, the torment."[3] The words "without it" are the Tanzíl, the law of the Nátiq; the word "within" is the Táwíl, the law given by the Asás; but both lead up to something else, "the mercy" which is the religion of the Unity. Another verse is also quoted to show the inferiority of all preceding teachers. "Verily, We proposed to the heavens and to the earth and mountains to receive the Faith, but they refused the burden and they feared to receive it."[4] The heavens, earth, mountains signify the Nátiqs, the Asás, the Ḥujjats who have rejected the true doctrine of the Unity and have preached error.

Christians are reminded that Christ said:—"Verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my saying he shall never see death." The "saying," or word, is the religion of the Unity, for the word is united to the Messiah, who is Ḥámza; so Christians should awake, for already he who has sown rejoices in the approach of harvest:[5] already the word of truth[6] bears witness against error. Jesus proclaimed the Gospel of the Kingdom and said it would be preached in all the world. Now it has come and yet Christians refuse to accept the truth.

In short, the case now stands thus. All ordinances of religion prescribed by the law have an outward form,[7] and an inward signification;[8], each revelation[9], which comes through a Nátiq,

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[1] Súra li. 49.

[2] It must be borne in mind that this use of the word "Unity" is a technical one. The Druse writers mean by it the dogma that God is united to Ḥákim. Unitarians are those who believe in the divinity of Ḥákim, not as amongst Muslims those who believe that God is One, and who deny the doctrine of the Trinity.

[3] Súra lvii. 13.

[4] Súra xxxiii. 72.

[5] A reference to St. John iv. 36.

[6] *i.e.*, Ḥamza.

[7] ظاهر

[8] باطن

[9] تنزيل

has an allegorical interpretation.[1] This is why the Ismá'ílians are called Báṭinis, for Muḥammadu'l Ḥabíb, the founder of the system, had perfect knowledge of this inward signification and this allegorical meaning. Indeed, he could give not only the latter, but even the further allegorical meaning[2] of this allegorical interpretation of the outward revelation.

Ḥákim abolished the exterior religion, or the Tanzíl, when by his own example and by his edicts he released men from the observance of the laws of Islám; he put away the interior law, or the Táwíl, of the Shí'ahs and of the Christians, when he established the religion of the Unity.

The Muslim creed consists of two parts. "There is no God but God," and "Muḥammad is the Apostle of God." By a cabalistic use of the words and the letters in this creed, and their connection with the signs of the Zodiac, the planets and the months, the Báṭinis find in them a description of their own hierarchial system. Ḥamza by a similar course of reasoning finds in them the hierarchy of his own system and, therefore, teaches that it is not obligatory to repeat these words in their natural sense as Muslims do, nor with the allegorical meaning assigned to them by the Báṭinis; but to look upon them in the more mystical form which he gave to them, and which shows the superiority of his religion over that of Islám.

The Quránic injunction to obey God and His Apostle, and those placed in authority is interpreted by the followers of the Tanzíl to be the acceptance of the rule of Abú Bakr, 'Umr, 'Uṣmán, 'Ali, and the Khalifs of the family of 'Ummaya and then those of the house of 'Abbás. It is explained by the followers of the Táwíl to be obedience to the authority of 'Ali and of his descendants only, according to the verse:—"This day have I perfected your religion for you and have fulfilled my favours unto you; and it is my pleasure that Islám shall be your religion."[3] This is said to indicate that the gift of the knowledge of the

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[1] تاويل [2] تاويل التاويلات

[3] Súra v. 5.

interior law was made to the Shí'ahs, and to refer to the bestowal of authority to 'Ali and his spiritual successors. Ḥákim set aside both these interpretations, and declared that authority resided neither with the Sunnis nor the Shí'ahs, but with the true Imám, that is Ḥamza, alone. He quoted in proof of this the words, "Every thing have We set down in a clear Imám."[1]

When Christ said:—"Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up,"[2] it is alleged that he then referred to three periods of time; the first when the Nátiq Jesus appeared; the second the age of the Paraclete, a name given to Muḥammad, who is thus said to have been announced by Jesus;[3] the third period when Ḥamza appeared and called on men to embrace the truth. The last day is the complement of the first, as when Jesus said:—"My time is not yet come." Muḥammad in claiming to be the Paraclete seems to have misunderstood the word *παράκλητος*, and imagined it to be the same as *περικλυτός*, which has somewhat the same meaning as Aḥmad, from which word the name Muḥammad is formed. Many other passages in the Gospels are treated in the same fanciful way.[4]

The Druses deny the crucifixion of the true Messiah,[5] whom they believe to have been a personification of Ḥamza. They say that Jesus, the son of Mary, was taught by the real Messiah and, on his proving disobedient, the Jews were then allowed to rise up against him and to put him to death. When

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[1] Súra xxxvi. 11. The Qurán read thus—وَكُلَّ شَيْءٍ أَحْصَيْنَهُ فِى إِمَامٍ مُّبِينٍ but it manifestly refers to the "preserved table"—لوح محفوظ—on which all the actions of men are written down, and it is so explained by all commentators. Ḥamza took advantage of the double meaning of the word Imám, and taught that Ḥákim included all things, that is to say, the ministers of the true religion and all their authority in the person of the Imám, who is none other than Ḥamza himself.

[2] St. John ii. 19.

[3] A reference to St. John xvi. 7.

[4] The Druse interpretation of them will be found in Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. ii. pp. 534—552.

[5] The Druses follow the Muslims in this belief. See Súra iv. 156.

he lay in the grave, the real Messiah hid in the garden and so the news went abroad of the resurrection from the dead. At first sight, there seems no obvious reason why Ḥamza should have lent even this amount of support to the Christian religion; but it is said that, as the time had not yet arrived for the followers of the Unity to openly manifest themselves, it was convenient for them to have a religion in which they might live unrecognised

For all these and for many other reasons, the Druses comfort themselves with the belief that the religion they profess is vastly superior to all which preceded it, or which can ever come into existence.

Ḥamza and other Druse writers had a direct interest in combating the opinions of the Muslims, by whom they were surrounded and who looked upon their views and opinions with much contempt. So the great point in the teaching of the Druse leaders was to show that Islám as a religion had had its day, and was now of no authority at all. On the other hand, the Druses had nothing to fear from the Jews or Christians, who in Muslim lands possessed no power to do them harm, and so much less attention was paid to them and to their systems of religion. Still, Christians are reproached for not living up to the standard of life laid down in the Sermon on the Mount.

Spiritual men[1] and women should be free from all faults and foulness. The Faithful, male and female, should be free from crime and impurity. A woman should so act and speak that other women may be led to accept the truth. Men, who do not keep in subjection their carnal appetites, are "just like the brutes"[2] and are worse than the ox and the ass. A fornicator, on repentance, should be humbled for seven years and, if he remains unrepentant, be treated as an infidel.

A Druse, who marries a Druse wife, should place her on an equality with himself and share with her all his possessions. If

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[1] The various orders of Ministers.

[2] Súra xxv. 46.

a divorce is necessary, on account of some disobedience on the part of the wife, she should give up half of her property; but if her husband has ill-treated her, she takes it all away. It is so also in the case of the man. Marriage with a mother, sister or aunt is forbidden. A man can only marry the daughter of his uncle if she is a Druse, a believer in the Unity.

In the place of the five articles of the Muḥammadan creed and of the arkán-i-dín, or the five practical duties of religion, the Druses say that Ḥákim appointed these seven as articles of faith and practice:—Truth in speech; mutual help; renunciation of religions previously professed; entire separation from evil spirits and from those in error; belief in the divinity of Ḥákim; acquiescence in his actions whatever they might be; absolute resignation to his orders at all times and under all circumstances. The principal dogmas concerning God, His nature, attributes, and manifestations, concerning the Universal Intelligence, and all the other members of the hierarchy, formed a body of theological teaching, the acceptance of which preceded the confession of the seven articles of the creed just described.[1]

Truth in speech was to be maintained as regards the dogmas of religion, and in all the ordinary affairs of life amongst the Druses themselves; but it was allowable to tell lies to men of other religions who are in darkness and ignorance, and with whom it is merely a matter of politeness to speak the truth. It is not with reference to them an obligatory duty. Lying to a fellow-believer is a great crime and will be severely punished by Ḥákim. When a man imputes to a believer something false, or distorts his words he is lying to him.

As regards mutual help, the Druses were to carry a sword to defend their friends, to watch over them, to meet their wishes, to satisfy their wants, to help the poor and to succour the

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[1] The number seven is considered by the Druses to be a sacred and mysterious number and for this many curious reasons are alleged. See Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, Vol. I. p. 462.

oppressed. All such good deeds would make the religious profession perfect.

Absolute submission to the will of the Lord Ḥákim is enjoined. Should he require a man to slay his own son he must do it, for only unquestioning obedience will be rewarded.

With reference to the duty of renouncing all previous religions,[1] the convert was to learn that faith in the Unity was incompatible with the profession of any other religion than that which acknowledged Ḥákim as its supreme lord. At the same time, his disciples, if previously Muslims, need not discard, at all times and under all circumstances, the outward observances of Islám, nor be afraid to disguise their real convictions by such outward conformity. The following extracts from a Druse catechism illustrate this point:—

Q.—What is our object when we speak with praise of the Gospels?

A.—In the presence of the people of that religion, we are obliged to approve of the belief which they profess.

Q.—Why, when we are asked, do we say that there is no other (sacred) book than the Qurán?

A.—Know, that as we are obliged to hide ourselves under the veil of Islám, we must outwardly acknowledge its book. We are not to be reproached for this, any more than for saying usual Muslim prayers at the grave. We must hide our belief. The inner mysteries of the Faith and its esoteric teaching must not be revealed to any one outside the circle of the true believers.

The Druses are very reticent about their beliefs, and in order to avoid danger they may profess, outwardly and in appearance, any dominant religion of the place they may be in. This is a principle known as Taqíyah, and is common to all

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[1] These were all looked upon as types of the one perfect religion, and all their sacred books were to be interpreted allegorically.

the Shí'ah sects. Meanwhile, in the heart must be firmly held the belief in the divine nature of Ḥákim, which is the fundamental doctrine on which the whole system is based.

Such, in brief, is the religion of the Druses, a strange mixture of fanaticism and folly, not without some redeeming points in the practical duties of life amongst themselves. That a religion should grow out of the caprices of a madman, and that generation after generation should see in a bloodthirsty despot the incarnation of the Divine, shows to what an extent men may be deluded, when they close their eyes to the "true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

THE STATUS OF THE Z̲IMMIS.

V.

The treatment of Jews and Christians under the Khalif Ḥákim has been already described. In all that he was by no means peculiar, but only followed what had been done before his time, and which continued to be long after a settled procedure on the part of Muslim rulers. As, however, it throws some additional light on his strange character and conduct, I now describe much more fully, than it was convenient then to do, the whole position and condition of the Jews and Christians in Muḥammadan countries and under Muḥammadan rulers when they had the opportunity and the power to carry out the law.

A Z̲immi is a non-Muslim subject of a Muḥammadan Government, a Jew or a Christian, who enjoys security of person and property on payment of a poll or capitation tax. Regulations relating to the status of the Z̲immis have been elaborated by the canonists of Islám, and deal exhaustively with the personal laws regarding marriage, inheritance, and the like. A very good summary will be found in Hughes' *Dictionary of Islám*; and in all the Muḥammadan law-books the subject is fully discussed. I do not, therefore, propose to deal with that side of the subject; but rather to show what was the actual social condition of the Z̲immis in the early days of Muslim rule and for centuries afterwards. The information now given is based

on some exhaustive articles on the subject in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1851. These are translations by M. Belin from Arabic standard works.

'Umr, the ninth Khalif of the Umaiyad dynasty 99 A.H.—717 A.D., wrote thus to the Provincial Governors:—" 'O Believers, only those who join gods with God are unclean.'[1] God has placed them in the party of Satan; they are the most accursed among men for their actions. I have heard that formerly the Muslims accepted the aid of the polytheist in the administration of affairs, on account of the knowledge they possessed; but should any Governor allow this now, I will depose him. Let them sink low to the place designed for them." To Ḥasan, then Governor in Egypt, he wrote in the same strain, and Ḥasan replied:—" O Prince of Believers, if this state of things should be prolonged in Egypt and the Zimmis be allowed to take part in the administration, all the Zimmis will become Muslims to the great advantage of the State." The Khalif was not so hopeful, but sent a Commissioner to look into the matter and said:—" I should be delighted if the Zimmis became Muslims, for the Prophet came as an Apostle and not as a tax-collector." Nevertheless he ordered the destruction of all new churches. The Zimmis sought the aid of the Emperor of Byzantium, and he requested the Khalif to leave them in the position in which he found them, but to this request the Khalif replied:— " My predecessors and myself are in the same state as that which the Most High has referred to in the history of David and Solomon:—' And David and Solomon; when they gave judgment concerning a field when some people's sheep had caused a waste therein; and We were witnesses of their judgment: and We gave Solomon insight into the affair, and on both of them We bestowed wisdom and knowledge.' "[2]

To another official the Khalif wrote:—" I hear that in this province there is a Christian clerk who interferes in the affairs

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[1] يآيّها الّذِيْنَ آمَنُوا انّمَا ٱلْمُشرِكُونَ نَجَسٌ Súra ix. 28.

[2] Súra xxi. vv. 78-9.

of Islám. Now God has said:—'O ye who believe, take not such of those who have received the Scriptures before you, who scoff and jest at your religion, or the infidels for your friends.'[1] On the receipt of this letter call upon him to embrace Islám. If he is converted he will become one of us: if not, do not employ him any longer." The clerk became a Muslim.

The 'Abbásside Khalif, Al Manṣúr, 136 A.H.—754 A.D., received a petition from his subjects requesting him to keep the Christians from interfering with them. He then issued orders that all Zimmis should be dismissed from the Government service and Muslims appointed instead.

The Khalif, Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, 170 A.H.—786 A.D., removed the Christians from the Government service, changed their costumes and destroyed their churches, and the 'Ulamá delivered fatvás, or judicial decrees, in support of this procedure.

The free-thinking Khalif Mámún, 198 A.H.—813 A.D., proved to be a bitter enemy. He sent a large number of Christians to prison and exiled a very large number of Jews, whom he called the most perverse of all nations.

The Khalif Mutawakkil, 232 A.H.—846 A.D., made a decree that Christians and Jews should wear yellow garments, not white ones, that when riding they should use wooden stirrups, that their churches should be destroyed, that the poll tax should be doubled, that they should neither live in a Muslim quarter nor enter into Muslim employ. This was enforced by a decree to the effect that God regarded Islám as the best of religions and had exalted and ennobled it, for:—"Whoso desireth any other religion than Islám, that religion shall never be accepted from him, and in the next world he shall be among the lost."[2] "This Book is no other than a warning and a

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1 يٰٓأَيُّهَا الَّذِيْنَ اٰمَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا الَّذِيْنَ اتَّخَذُوا دِيْنَكُمْ هُزُوًا وَلَعِبًا مِنَ الَّذِيْنَ اُوْتُو الْكِتٰبَ مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ وَالْكُفَّارَ اَوْلِيَآءَ Súra v. 62. This is the latest Madína Súra.

2 وَمَنْ يَبْتَغِ غَيْرَ الْاِسْلَامِ دِيْنًا فَلَنْ يُقْبَلَ مِنْهُ وَهُوَ فِى الْاٰخِرَةِ مِنَ الْخٰسِرِيْنَ Súra iii. 79.

clear Qurán, to warn whoever liveth; and that against the infidels sentence may be justly given."[1] "Let not believers take infidels for their friends rather than believers."[2]

The decree goes on to state that it had been represented to the Khalif that men destitute of judgment and reason sought the aid of the Zimmis in their affairs, entered into friendship with them, and allowed them to exercise some authority over the Muslims. Such a condition of affairs was looked upon as very grave, and officials were solemnly charged that it must not go on.

The same sort of thing was continued for years,[3] the same objections were made, and the same verses from the Qurán were quoted in support of repressive measures. One Khalif writes:—"Praise be to God upon earth and in heaven, who hears favourably the voice of those who call upon His name. He separates friends from enemies, the men of the right road from those in the path of error. We ought not to contract friendship with the latter, nor seek assistance from them. The Jews and the Christians are under the malediction of the Most High, because they associate others with them and deny His signs, and God has said:—'Shame shall be stamped upon them wherever found, unless they ally them with God and men! and the wrath of God will they incur, and poverty shall be stamped upon them, for they believed not in the signs of God.'[4] There can be no possibility of friendship with such."

The principle on which these various regulations and orders

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[1] Súra xxxvi. 70.

[2] لَا يَتَّخِذِ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ الْكٰفِرِينَ أَوْلِيَاءَ مِنْ دُونِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ Súra iii. 27.

[3] A long list of Khalifs and of their edicts against the Zimmis is given in the *Journal Asiatique, Quatrième Séries*, vol. ii pp. 455—492.

[4] ضُرِبَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ الذِّلَّةُ أَيْنَ مَا ثُقِفُوا إِلَّا بِحَبْلٍ مِنَ اللّٰهِ وَحَبْلٍ مِنَ النَّاسِ وَبَآءُوا بِغَضَبٍ مِنَ اللّٰهِ وَضُرِبَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ الْمَسْكَنَةُ ذٰلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ كَانُوا يَكْفُرُونَ بِآيٰتِ اللّٰهِ Súra iii. 108. The bitterness of these quotations from the 3rd Súra may be explained from the fact that it is a late Madína one, revealed for the most part when Muḥammad had no hope of aid from Jews or Christians.

were based found early expression in Islám.[1] As far back as the time of the Khalif 'Umr, 13 A.H.—634 A.D., the Christians under Muslim rule had to subscribe to the following terms: "We undertake not to build in our towns or their suburbs convents or churches, and not to repair those which have fallen into ruins. Muslims may have free entrance into our churches at all times. We will entertain Muslim travellers for three days at a time. We will not give an asylum, either in our churches or our houses, to the enemies of the State; we will not teach the Qurán to our children, nor extol our own Law; we will place no barrier in the way of any one's becoming a Muslim; we will not adopt the dress of the Muslims, nor arrange our hair as they do, nor will we use their salutation, Salám 'alaikum—Peace be on you, nor take their surnames. We will not use saddles when we ride, nor carry swords nor bear arms; we will not engrave Arabic characters on our seals, nor sell fermented liquors. We will shave the front part of our heads, wear a girdle round the body, and when walking in streets frequented by Muslims or in their markets will not look upon a cross or on our own books; we will not ring bells, except very softly, nor speak in the presence of Muslims, nor chant at funerals, nor inter our dead near a Muslim quarter. We will not take as a slave any one belonging to a Muslim. These are the conditions to which we subscribe and for which we and our people shall receive the protection of the Khalif. If we infringe any of these conditions, we shall be no longer in the status of Zimmis and may be treated as rebels." The Khalif 'Umr then said to his officers, "Sign what they demand," after adding these conditions—that they must not bury any individual taken by the Muslims as a prisoner, and that he who intentionally strikes a Muslim should forfeit the position of a Zimmi and be treated as outside this covenant.

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[1] In a Tradition it is recorded, that when Muḥammad started out for the battle field of Badr, a Christian man came and said, that he wished to go and fight for him; but in reply to the question whether he believed in God and in His Apostle, said that he did not. "Then," said Muḥammad, "retire, I will never accept the assistance of a polytheist." *Journal Asiatique*, Décembre 1851.

One day the Bani Taghlib came to the Khalif 'Umr and said:—"Tell us what we ought to do." "Are you Christians?" "Yes." Then calling a barber the Khalif ordered him to cut away the hair from the front part of their heads, and to tear off a part of their vestment. The Khalif also prohibited them the use of anything but pack-saddles when riding. 'Umr said one day to one of his slaves, "You become a Muslim, for it is not lawful for us to find employment for those who are not of our faith." The slave declined to change his religion, on which 'Umr said:—"Go, wherever thou wilt."

The 'Ulamá differ in opinion as to whether, in the case when the Zimmis fail in any other obligation, a treaty is annulled or not, and as to whether the Zimmis should be slain, sent into captivity, or not. The 'Ulamá are also divided on the question of the teaching of the Qurán to Zimmis. The Málikis prohibit it, the Ḥanífites permit it, and the Shafá'ites are doubtful on the point.[1] The latter say it is no doubt lawful if the reader shows some tendency to embrace Islám, otherwise not. Some of the 'Ulamá have doubts on the question of keeping faith with the infidels and quote the passage:—"Thou shalt not find that any of those who believe in God, and in the last day, love him who opposeth God and His Apostle, even though they be their fathers, or their sons, or their brethren, or their nearest kin."[2] This is not, however, a fair interpretation of the text. The following verse is quite clear and shows that the interpretation just given is wrong, or at least that the Qurán is not consistent with itself. "This (*i.e.*, the breaking of an engagement) concerneth not those polytheists with whom ye are in league, and who shall have afterwards in no way failed you, nor aided any one against you: observe, therefore, your engagement with them through the whole time of their treaty."[3] There is also a saying, attributed to 'Ali, which bears on the same subject. He said:—"If I had

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[1] These are three of the four great schools of jurisprudence into which the Sunnis are divided: the fourth is that of Imám Ḥanbal.

[2] Súra lviii. 22.

[3] Súra ix. 4.

remained with the Christians of the Beni Taghlib. I would have made a great slaughter and have sent their families into captivity; but I had subscribed a compact made between them and the Prophet, on the condition that they did not offer help to their brethren."

If a Zimmi refuses to pay the jazya, or poll tax,[1] he breaks the compact and all his property can be seized; if he should purchase a slave belonging to a Muslim or buy a copy of the Qurán, he must be punished.

The whole subject of the status of the Zimmis was one of great importance in the early days of Islám, when conquests were rapid and country after country was brought under Muslim rule. Whenever any doubtful cases arose they were submitted to the 'Ulamá for decision, and the answer was given in the form of a fatvá. These fatvás, or judicial opinions, extend over centuries; and there is much sameness in them, so that it is not necessary to give more than a few in illustration of the whole.

Question.

In the name of God, most merciful and clement. What is the opinion of the 'Ulamá of Islám, the guide of the people, on the encouragement of the Zimmis and on the assistance we can demand from them, whether as clerks to the Amírs entrusted with the administration of the country, or as collectors of taxes? Is this lawful or not? In the early days of Islám there were edicts by the Khulafá-i-Ráshidín[2] or since promulgated by Imáms, which prohibited the Zimmis from exercising such functions, or if they were performing them restrained them from so doing.

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[1] The 'Ulamá are divided in opinion as to the amount to be levied. Some hold that it must be neither more nor less than the amount fixed by the Khalif 'Umr; others that the ruling Khalif can alter it as he pleases. 'Umr fixed forty-eight dirheons for a rich man; twenty-four for a man of moderate means; twelve for a poor man.

[2] The four rightly guided Khalifs Abu Bakr, 'Umr, 'Usmán and 'Ali.

Explain the above by solid proofs, establish the orthodox belief by sound arguments, and give your decision. God will reward you.

ANSWER.

Our Master, the slave, the humble one before God, the most learned, the Shaikhu'l-Islám, the Muftí of all the people, Shamsu'd dín, known as Ibn Naqqah (whom God bless and give him rest in Paradise), has said :—"Know that the legal knowledge does not authorize these things; this is the Ijmá,[1] and there is no 'Ulamá who does not prohibit it." I support this view by the text of the Qurán, by traditions[2] of the Prophet, and by acts of the orthodox Khalifs and pious Imáms from early days until now. God has said :—"Among the people of the Book are some, to one of whom if thou entrust a thousand dinars, he will restore them to thee: and there is of them to whom if thou entrust a dinar, he will not restore it to thee, unless thou be ever instant with him. This, because they say :—'We are not bound to keep faith with the ignorant folk and they utter a lie against God and know that they do so.'"[3]

But you say to me these verses only interdict friendship with Christians, whereas the question is as to their employment. I reply, employment is the natural consequence of friendship. As to the Zimmis, God has said :—"O Believers! take not the Jews or Christians as friends. They are but one another's friends. If any of you taketh them for his friends, he surely is one of them."[4]

Now to show friendship, or to offer employment, are proceedings which do not accord with the curse pronounced upon them, for employment is a mark of distinction which does not

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[1] *i.e.*, the 'unanimous consent' of the early canonists of Islám.

[2] *i.e.*, the Sunnat. [3] Súra iii. 68-9.

[4] يَاأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَى أَوْلِيَاءَ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّهُمْ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنَّهُ مِنْهُمْ Súra v. 56. This being the latest Súra, or chapter of the Qurán, it may be assumed to give the Prophet's final view on this subject.

accord with the abasement of Zimmis, and friendship is a tie which cannot be combined with the enmity and hatred we should have for them.

The following Aḥádís, or traditions, are given :—" The Prophet had set out for Badr. A Christian followed him and said :— 'I wish to go with you to fight and get a share of the spoil.' The Prophet said :—' Dost thou believe in God and on His Prophet ?' 'No,' he replied. 'Retire, for I cannot accept the aid of a polytheist.' Three times the man's application was refused, but, at last, he confessed his faith in Islám and was allowed to join the expedition."

Abú Musá said to the Khalif 'Umr :—" I want to employ a Christian as a clerk." "Hast thou done that," said the Khalif. " God will punish thee, for this is the word of God : 'O Believers! take not the Jews or Christians as friends.' " Then Musá said :—" I only want the work of writing from the man, I do not care for his belief." The Khalif replied :—" It matters not, I can never honour those whom God has despised, nor exalt those whom He has abased."

One of 'Umr's officers wrote and asked him whether, as the revenue work had so much increased, he might employ Christians in Government offices. 'Umr replied :—" Do not let them meddle with your affairs, nor give up to them that which God has forbidden." He also wrote to another official thus, " He who has a Christian clerk ought not to live with him, nor show him any affection, for neither the Prophet of God nor his successors ordered that Christians should be employed."

Thus was this fatvá established and proven.

Other fatvás are thus recorded.

Question.

What do the 'Ulama of Islám, the lights which dissipate the darkness and whose days may God prolong, say as to the innovations introduced by the infidels in Cairo, who, owing to

the science of law and philosophy, shine among the first ranks of the Muslims in Muslim cities? What is your opinion about these deplorable innovations? For instance, they put themselves on an equality with the Amírs, the 'Ulamá, and the Sharífs, they wear valuable garments, use the same kind of saddles as the Amírs and 'Ulamá and officials do, with servants beside and behind them, putting Muslims whom they meet on the roads to inconvenience. They openly purchase slaves who are Muslims, build substantial houses loftier than ours, or than our mosques. They increase their churches and monasteries. The Franks have been established here more than a year, and neither pay the jazya nor renew the right of protection (aman).[1] The Zimmi women wear in public the same long black robes and veils which Muslim women do and so receive the same respect as they do. Can all this be allowed to enemies of the Faith! Is it not the duty of every Muslim prince or ruler to demand from the 'Ulamá of our holy law the publication of the decrees, and to urge wise men to put a stop to these revolting innovations? Be pleased to give a formal answer, supported by Aḥádíṣ-i-Ṣaḥíḥ, or authoritative traditions.

Answer of the Máliki Shaikh.[2]

The Most High has said:—"O Believers! take not the Jews or Christians as friends."[3] "As for the infidels, let them perish! and their works shall God bring to nought.[4] "O ye who believe, take not my foe and your foe as friends."[5]

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[1] The Venetians used to renew this treaty of protection (aman) on the accession of each new Sultan of Egypt.

[2] I give this and the answers of the other Shaikhs in an abbreviated form. A full French translation will be found in the *Journal Asiatique* for January 1852.

[3] Súra v. 56.

[4] وَالَّذِيْنَ كَفَرُوْا فَتَعْسًا لَهُمْ وَأَضَلَّ أَعْمَالَهُمْ Súra xlvii. 9. This is a Madína Súra.

[5] يَا يُّهَا الَّذِيْنَ آمَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا عَدُوِّى وَعَدُوَّكُمْ أَوْلِيَاءَ Súra lx. 1. This also is a late Madína Súra.

The 'Ulamá have said that "until they pay tribute out of hand and be humbled"[1] means that the Zimmi, Christian or Jew, on the day appointed must go to the Amír in charge of receipt of the jazya, who will sit on an elevated seat. The Zimmi will approach him, hold the tax money in the palms of his hands, when the Amír will take it in such a way that his hand will be above and that of the Zimmi below. The Amír will then strike the Zimmi on the back of the neck. The same will take place with each Zimmi in turn, and people will be admitted to see and enjoy the spectacle. A Zimmi is not allowed to make this payment through a third person, he must do it in person and himself suffer the humiliation, which may end in his embracing Islám. The Zimmis must not ride on horses, mules, or expensive asses; they must not frequent the public roads, nor assemble in groups for conversation, nor speak with loud voices, nor have servants in attendance on them in the open roads. Their clothes must be plain stuff, their houses must not be lofty or decorated.

The 'Ulamá look on at the doing of such things[2] and weep, the princes shut their eyes. It is hoped that God will raise up a man who will remedy all this. The Prophet said:— "The just ruler will on the day of judgment have the highest place." Now one of the principles of justice is that infidels should possess no distinctive advantages, no possibility of elevating themselves from a low and debased condition. We pray that the 'Ulamá and the princes may unite to glorify Islám, the true way, so that the word of God may be exalted, His religion protected, and we be preserved from the love of the world.

Written by this poor one, Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammadu'd-dín al Máliki, on whom may God have mercy.

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1 حَتَّى يُعْطُوا الْجِزْيَة عَنْ يَدٍ وَهُمْ صَاغِرُونَ Súra ix. 29.

2 *i.e.*, the independence of the Zimmis.

Answer of Shaikh'l 'Abdu'r-Raḥmánu'l Quraishu'l Ḥanífi.[1]

God has blessed the people and has given them authority to order and to prohibit, and has cursed other nations and has not given them such power. I have turned over the pages of authentic books of rites, with their commentaries, from the days of Abú Ḥanífá—such as the fatvás concerning the obligations incurred by the Zimmis under the conditions imposed by the Khulafá-i-Ráshidín, *viz.*, that they are not to use saddles when riding on horses, nor to carry arms. They must always dismount when passing a mosque, and must never dress like 'Ulamá. The Companions of the Prophet are unanimous on the necessity of publicly degrading the infidels, and of preserving the self-respect of even the poorest Muslim. When the infidels seek to rise higher than the Muslims and to gain in any way superiority over them, they should be put to death. No one should sell landed property to a Zimmi, but if a Zimmi possesses any he may be compelled to sell it to a Muslim. The rules against them must be strictly enforced and all additions made to churches and monasteries must be destroyed.

Written by the poor one, 'Abdu'r-Raḥmánu'l Quraishi.

Answer of Shaikh Ḥasanu'l Kafrani as-Shafá'í.[2]

The Zimmis must not use horses, for it is written:—"Make ready, then, against them what force ye can, and strong squadrons whereby ye may strike terror into the enemy of God and your enemy."[3] The Faithful must not salute the

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[1] I omit the verses of the Qurán quoted at the outset, as they have been referred to in decisions already noticed.

[2] I omit all that is included in previous decisions.

[3] وَاعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَّا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَ مِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ عَدُوَّ اللّٰهِ وَ عَدُوَّكُمْ Súra viii. 62. From this the conclusion is drawn that Zimmis must not have horses, as Muslims are ordered to keep them to use against non-Muslims.

Ẕimmis, not even with a simple 'Good day'—Ṣubḥu'l-Khair. The Ẕimmis must never be allowed to occupy a seat of honor in any assembly.

Written by the poor one, Ḥasanu'l Kafrani as-Shafá'í.[1]

The above represents the law on the subject, and, though it is, probably nowhere now carried out with such rigour, the state of the Ẕimmis is in all Muslim lands one of political and social subordination. When Muslim countries were isolated, this did not cause much inconvenience, except to the Ẕimmis themselves; but now that some, at least, of the Muḥammadan countries have entered into the circle of civilised States, the result is that the subject populations are restive under the disabilities imposed upon them. In Turkey, for instance, it is unreasonable to suppose that an active industrious people like the Armenians will for ever be content to exist in the status of the Ẕimmis. The consequent disaffection, leading to revolt on the one hand and cruel repression on the other, causes such a State to be a source of constant trouble to its neighbours. The simple fact is that the whole system of Law which regulates such lands is an anachronism now; but how it is to be altered without endangering the foundations of the Faith is not an easy question to settle. One thing is certain: no reform will be spontaneous. The 'Ulamá, the canonists, and the official lawyers will oppose it, and he would be a brave Sultan who could resist them. The only remedy is *force majeure*, supplied by other Powers, which would really help a Ruler of a Muḥammadan State like Turkey, should he wish to make reforms. In this way alone can he, or any reformers, be enabled to overcome the bitter opposition of the official guardians of the great Theocratic Law of Islám.

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[1] This is a very late fatva, as the seal on it bears the date 1186 A.H.—1772 A.D.

ISLÁM IN CHINA.

VI.

THE famous Arab traveller of the fourteenth century, Ibn Bátutah, in the record of his travels in China, says that in many towns he found Muslims, who dwelt in a separate quarter, apart from the other people, that they had their own Mosques, Qáẓis, and other officials, who decided all matters concerning the internal affairs of the community, and that they were honoured and respected by the Chinese.

Professor Vasilieff, a Russian writer, who has dealt with the subject of Islám in China, as it now is, considers that the Musalmáns there form a progressive community, and that the influence of Islám will, in the future, be widely felt. He says:—"If Islám some day succeeds in establishing its political supremacy over China, and then claims the allegiance of the mass of the population to its faith, will it meet with a refusal? We think not." "If China were converted into a Muḥammadan Empire, the political relations of the whole East would be considerably modified." Whilst there is not much fear that such an ascendancy of Islám in China will ever come to pass, for the days when it can become a successful ruling power in any part of the world are gone for ever, still its progress and present position in China form a subject of interest, not so well known as its importance demands. The best modern authority on it is M. Dabry de

Thiersant, formerly the French Consul-General in China; and it is to his writings that I am indebted for most of the facts which are here given.[1]

The first Muḥammadans who came to China were Arab merchants. It is said that commercial relations with Arabia existed even before the time of Muḥammad. A traditional account is that the Emperor, Tai Tsong, of the Tang Dynasty, had a dream in the year 627 A.D., in which he saw a soldier, who wore a turban and was followed by a demon, enter a room.[2] The astrologers, having consulted the stars with a view to explain the dream, reported that a holy man was about to be born in the West, that the soldier came from the Kingdom of Arabia, that his slaughter of the demon in the dream, showed that the race he belonged to was strong and powerful. The King of Arabia who was very rich and powerful, was also a saint, at whose birth many marvellous things happened, and, if friendly relations were entered into with him, it would clearly be to the advantage of the Empire. The Emperor after due reflection decided to send an ambassador to Arabia with rich presents for the ruler of that country. Envoys of whom one Qásim was the leader then came from Arabia, and the Emperor recognised in one of them the form and appearance of the man he had seen in his dream. On hearing of the good state of Arabia the Emperor remarked that the teaching of Confucius must have reached that land, to which the envoys replied that it was known to them, but that they had also a sacred book, descended from heaven, called the Qurán and which was superior to any other religious book in the world, and which contained instruction on matters small and great.[3] Qásim also fully explained the ritual of the Namáz and the doctrines of Islám to the great satisfaction of the Emperor who was charmed with Qásim's readiness.[4] The

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1 Dabry de Thiersant's *Le Mahométisme en Chine.* 2 vols. (Paris 1878.)

2 Gabriel Devéria in *Centenaire de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes,* p. 312.

3 *Ibid*, p. 314.

4 *Ibid*, p. 315.

result was that the Muslim envoys were welcomed, treated with respect, and allowed to settle at Nankin and Canton, where they built a mosque, called the 'Holy Remembrance'. The leader of this band is called by the Chinese Wang-ka-zi, which means a Companion of the Prophet, or a Ṣaḥábi. M. Dabry de Thiersant states that his Arab name was Wahháb Ibn Abú Kabshah, that he was an uncle of the Prophet, and that the date of his mission was 628 A.D.; but the relationship is not very clear as, according to some accounts, Muḥammad had no uncle. Whoever he was, he was the first Muslim missionary to China. In 632 A.D., he returned to Arabia, but found that Muḥammad was dead. He could not remain at home permanently, and so he returned to Canton bringing back with him Abú Bakr's recension of the Qurán. He then lived and died at Canton, and pious Muslims made pilgrimages to the tomb of the earliest herald of their faith in China.

The Khalif Walíd in the early part of the eighth century advanced his victorious army to the frontiers of China. The general of his army demanded tribute from the Emperor. The deputation conveying this mandate appeared before the Emperor richly dressed, highly performed, and assumed a soft effeminate appearance. They entered and retired in silence to the great astonishment of the Emperor. The second day they wore rich black robes, and acted in the same manner. On the third day they entered into the Emperor's presence fully armed and fierce of countenance. The Emperor enquired the reason of this strange conduct, and was informed that they first appeared in the dress they wore when visiting ladies, then in court costume, and lastly, clad as when they went forth to meet enemies. The Emperor being much alarmed at this, and at the news which, at the same time, came from the frontier, assented to their demands, and paid the tribute required. About the same time, 713 A.D.,[1] an envoy from the Khalif

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[1] Gabriel Devéná in *Centenaire de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, p. 307.

refused to prostrate himself before the Emperor, stating that, as a Muslim, he bent the knee to God alone. The Chinese officials wished to punish this breach of court etiquette, but the Emperor excused the conduct of the envoy and did not require him to observe the usual ceremonial. As years passed the Chinese Muslims, as we shall see, became less particular, and conformed to court usage much more readily.

In the year 758 A.D. a band of Muslim soldiers, 4,000 in number, were sent by the Khalif Al Mansúr, from Khorasan to the aid of the Emperor in crushing out a rebellion. An alliance between a Khalif of Baghdád and an Emperor of China seems strange, but their territories were almost, or quite adjacent. "When, in the first century of the Ḥijra, the famous Muslim General, Kuteyba, crossed the Oxus, took Bukhára and Samarkand and carried fire and sword through Kashgár and beyond Kucha, he was actually on Chinese territory."[1]

When ordered to return to Arabia, after their work was over, the Muslim soldiers refused and, being assisted by their co-religionists already in China, were able to gain their end. The Emperor had to give them authority to settle in various towns in China. Being compelled by their religious law to marry among themselves, they took as concubines Chinese women, and thus formed a small community from which, in course of time, a large body of Chinese Muslims descended. It does not appear that any great accessions were made by immigration or by conversions. The chief cause of increase was through marriage alliances, regular and irregular, and by the purchase of destitute children who were brought up as Muslims.

In 794 A.D. the Khalif Hárúnu'r-Ráshid sent ambassadors to China. The political relation thus entered into lasted for some centuries.[2] In the ninth century a Muslim, named Abú

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[1] Stanley Lane Poole's *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 293.

[2] Les relations politiques entre les Arabes et les chinois continuèrent pendant les xe. xiie. et xiiie. Siècles. Dabry de Thiersant's *Le Mahométisme en Chine*. Vol. I, p. 73.

Wahháb, records a conversation with the Emperor regarding the person and work of the Prophet and the progress of Islám.[1] In 1068 the Emperor Chin Tsoung appointed a Muslim to the oversight of the Arab strangers who came to Canton. This official distributed them in different places and kept a register of their names. This led to a decrease in their number, and for a while their influence became less, and was not regained till they settled in the provinces.

Le Père Lecomte in 1680 writes:—"The Muslims have been in China six hundred years: they are not molested, they enjoy liberty, but are regarded as strangers. In some provinces they are very numerous." He does not give an early enough date for the first arrivals in China.

The oldest Mosque in China was constructed in Canton by Wahháb ibn Abú Kabshah, in 628 or 629 A.D. The roof was similar to that of a pagoda, and at the entrance was a tablet with the Chinese inscription:—"Long life, very long life, to the Emperor." Suspended on the white walls were texts from the Qurán, written on silk or paper. The Maulavis had a school close by. Arabic inscriptions were also written on the walls, of which this is a sample—"God ever exists. There is no God but He. Adore Him, pray to Him that your heart may always be with Him. Implore Him to protect you and all the universe." Engraven on a stone are the words:—"God most high has said:—'He only should build the Mosques who believes in God and the last day.'[2] The Prophet, on whom be peace, has said:—'Whosoever constructs a Mosque, God will build for him seventy thousand palaces in Paradise.'" This Mosque was destroyed by fire in 1341 A.D., but was rebuilt with great splendour. It seems to have been damaged several times, for a long inscription,[3] on the occasion of a restoration of it

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[1] Dabry de Thiersant's *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. I, pp. 77—80.

[2] Súra ix. 18.

[3] These inscriptions in Mosques and on old tombs throw much light on the history of Islám in China. Translations of many of them are given by Dabry de Thiersant in *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. I, pp. 94—112.

in 1699, speaks of its destruction and restoration many times in the past.

Professor Vasilieff writing in 1867, says that there were then in Pekin alone 20,000 Muslim families, containing 100,000 persons, and that there were eleven Mosques in that city. Another writer, in 1873, states that the Muslims were prosperous merchants, in a flourishing condition.

Their present number is computed to be 20,000,000, scattered about in various parts of the Empire.[1] This is not an extraordinary number when we remember that some fourteen centuries have passed since the first Muslims settled in the country. This they often did in plague-stricken and deserted districts, which they took possession of, and then increased their number by the purchase of children of indigent parents and by taking concubines from amongst the Chinese women.[2]

The Muslims are convinced that the future lies with them, and that, sooner or later, the religion of Muḥammad will prevail in the extreme East and replace the various forms of paganism. Professor Vasilieff is evidently of the same opinion, and views the position with much alarm. He says:—"The question whether China will become Muslim is one of great interest to the entire world. If China should be converted to Islám, then the political relation of the whole East would be considerably modified. The religion of Islám, extending from Gibraltar to the Pacific Ocean, might be a new menace to Christendom, and the peaceful activity of the Chinese, profitable to the nations, might, in the hands of fanatics,

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[1] About fifteen millions are in the Provinces of Kan-Suh and Shen-si: before the massacres in Yunan there were four millions there and the rest are scattered about.

[2] "In a famine which ravaged the district of Chan-Tong, they bought more than ten thousand infants whom they brought up as artisans and as agriculturists." Du Halde, quoted by Dabry de Thiersant in *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. I, p. 40.

become a yoke upon the neck of other peoples, and the march of civilization would be arrested."[1] Dabry de Thiersant says that these remarks made a great impression, and that they really express the feelings of the Russian Government. Whilst we do not accept the view that there is such a danger of China's becoming a Muslim State, yet, if the statement is correct that Russia viewed the alleged increase of Islám in China as a coming danger, it would account for some of the recent actions of the Russian Government. Years ago Dabry de Thiersant described China as in a state of decay, lying at the mercy of the first great Power which might covet her riches, and pointed out the danger of Muslims, in the coming ruin, forming separate states in some of the provinces. This forecast of coming events has been, in part, strangely fulfilled. It remains to be seen whether his estimate of the power of Islám there is correct.

The Muslims differ both in character and in physiognomy from the Chinese proper, and show clearly that they are a mixed race. The Arab, Tatar and Chinese blood may be traced, though all are so blended as to form a new type. The original source was the band of 4,000 soldiers who early settled in the country. Three centuries later, when the conquest of Genkhis Khan opened up a way of communication between the East and the West, many Syrians, Arabs, and Persians came to China. Some were merchants, some soldiers, and all more or less settlers. They were men strong in physique, active in habits, and they soon established themselves in the various localities in which they settled. These strangers, envied by the people of the country for the political freedom they enjoyed, possessed every facility for increasing their numbers. Descendants of Chinese women, the present mass of Chinese Muslims bear marked traces of a foreign origin, though this is much more pronounced in some provinces than in others. Generally speaking, where they are not numerous, it is not

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[1] Quoted by Dabry de Thiersant in *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. I, p. ii.

so easy to distinguish them by their features from the rest of the people. The Muslim women, though not so tall as the men, are, generally speaking, more robust and vigorous than the Chinese women. The feet are small, owing to the adoption of Chinese customs, but the lower classes do not cramp the feet of their children. As a race, these Chinese Muslims unite the good and the bad qualities of the Chinese, the Arabs, and the Turks, though they are less bigoted than the latter. Their religion reduces itself to belief in a few articles of faith, to the practice of circumcision and to the abstention from eating pork. Only a very few of their leaders make the pilgrimage to Mecca. They read the Qurán in Arabic without understanding its meaning. They prefer the occupation of arms and commerce to the cultivation of the arts and sciences. They are very clannish, and are reputed to be honest. As Magistrates they are held in great respect, being looked up to us as impartial and just in their decisions. Owing to this unity which binds them together, and also to the concessions they make to the prejudices of the Chinese people, they enjoy the same rights and privileges as other subjects, and are not treated as a foreign body. They are agriculturists, artisans, merchants, and even officials, if they are qualified for such a position. The wear the Chinese dress—the long robe and the pigtail. Their Mosques are not prominent buildings, and the minarets are kept low so as not to excite the superstition of the people. They assist at popular fêtes, and contribute to things in which they have no special interest. Those who hold high official positions even go so far as to perform certain religious ceremonies connected with the State religion. In discussions with the learned on religious matters they are careful to say that they differ from Confucianism chiefly in matters of a personal nature, such as marriage and funeral rites, ceremonial ablutions, and the prohibition of pork, wine, and games of chance. The results is that Islám is looked upon by the Chinese as a religion similar in many points to their own. A Chinese writer of the eighteenth century says:— "The Arab religion prescribes for the worship of the Supreme

that which Confucius did for the Chang-Ty, and borrows from Buddhism what concerns prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and certain religious ceremonies."

Islám was introduced into the Yunan province in 1275 A.D., and soon spread very rapidly. There were occasional tumults, but, on the whole, the people lived happily together, until 1817 A.D., when a serious revolt occurred. In 1828 and from 1834 to 1840, the Muslims lived in troublesome times. The cause of all these tumults was the bad government of the Mandarins, and when they were put down it was with great barbarity which led, at the earliest opportunity, to bitter reprisals. In a petition by a leading Muslim to the Emperor all this is set forth in detail. The writer goes on to say that the Muslims have lived for a long time in China, have been loyal subjects and ever ready to defend the Empire, that now all his relatives have been massacred and he remains alone and lonely. The Mandarins refuse to listen to his complaints and so he appeals to the Emperor, on whose justice all Muslims trust. The Emperor, in reply, rebuked the Viceroy of Yunan and reminded him that the Muslims were children of the State, even as others were, and that equal justice must be meted out to all. A period of peace ensued until 1855, when a great insurrection broke out which lasted until 1874, and in which about two millions Muslims perished. The origin of the trouble was the massacre of sixteen hundred men, women and children, because two Chinese officials were annoyed when the Muslims claimed a just debt from the one, and refused to subscribe to purchase an umbrella of honour for the other. The barbarity shown on both sides was great. Peace was restored at last, but the whole country has been wasted and one-fourth of its inhabitants have perished, or have emigrated. The Muslims have again settled down quietly, but have no hope for the future and Dabry de Thiersant, looking at the subject from a French standpoint, sees in the adjoining Protectorate of Tonking an opportunity for favourable intercourse with them. He considers that sooner or later, Tonking will become one of the best French Colonies, and

that it is to French interests to be on good terms with their neighbours in Yunan.[1]

There is a very curious legend as to the way in which Islám was introduced into the province of Tou-Kiue, about the middle of the tenth century of the Christian era. A ruler, named Satoc, was as a minor under the authority of his uncle Hárún. One day Satoc when hunting pursued a wounded hare, which seeing Satoc all alone turned and said to him ;—'Come, my child, attend to me. Why dost thou remain an idolater, why dost thou not believe in God and in Muḥammad the Apostle of God. I pity you, I do not wish you to go to hell.' Satoc in alarm said :—'How can I be saved'? The Sage, again speaking through the hare, said :—"Repeat simply the words, 'There is no God but God and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God'; repeat these words, and you will become a Muslim, will go to Paradise and enjoy all its sensuous pleasures; refuse to do this and you go to the torments of hell." Satoc forthwith repeated the creed, became a Muslim and asked for further instruction. The Sage, saying that a wise teacher would soon come to him, suddenly disappeared. Some days after a traveller, named Abú Naṣr Samani, came and for six months further instructed Satoc. His uncle Hárún was very angry and wished to put him to death, but before doing so devised a plan by which to test his faith. He ordered him to lay the first stone of a temple. Satoc was advised by Abú Naṣr to consent, with the mental reservation that he was laying it for a Mosque and not for an idol temple. Soon after a civil war ensued. Hárún was killed by Satoc who by the sword spread Islám far and wide, making, it is said, thousands of converts in a day.[2] The successors of Satoc were

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[1] "La France a un beau rôle à jouer dans l'Indo-Chine, seulement, si elle veut réussir, il faut qu'elle se pénètre bien d'abord de ce qu'elle veut. L'objectif une fois déterminé, il lui sera facile ensuite d'atteindre son but, en étudiant sérieusement les résultats gigantesques obtenus par les Anglais dans l'Inde, et en sachant profiter des lecons du passé." Dabry de Thiersant's *Le Mahométisme en Chine,* vol. I, p. 151.

[2] Dabry de Thiersant says:—"il passa sa vie à guerroyer pour répandre par le sabre la doctrine du Prophete." Dabry de Thiersant's *Le Mahométisme en Chine,* vol. I, p. 218.

good Muslims and prescribed all other religions except Islám and Nestorianism. It was Genghis Khan who, in invading this province, proclaimed religious liberty.

The Muslims in China enjoy the same rights and privileges as all the other subjects of the Emperor. All occupations and all offices are open to them, if they have the means and the capacity required. At the same time they take great care not to wound the susceptibilities, or to arouse the prejudices of the earnest disciples of Confucius. They dress like the rest of the people, even to the wearing of the pigtail. Their Mosques do not unduly force themselves on public notice, and minarets are given up altogether in view of the curious superstition of the Chinese with regard to buildings. They respect the laws of the Empire and the usages and customs of the people.

The Government has, as a rule, shown itself favourable to Islám; and at different periods has issued decrees to the effect that Islám has a good object, that it observes natural and social laws, and that the differences it presents to other religions only concern simple questions of national usage. In 1289 A.D. the Emperor Houpilie established at Peking an Imperial College for Muslims, which shows how strong their influence was even in the capital of the Empire. At the beginning of the 14th century the great Arab traveller, Ibn Bátutah, speaks of the great number of Muslims he found in China. In 1384 A.D. the Emperor Tai-Tson ordered the following statement to be engraved on a tablet:—"The Arab books explain the creation of the universe. The founder of Islám was a great saint, born in the West, he received from heaven thirty volumes of a book which has enlightened the world. He is a great king, the first of saints. He protected kingdoms and their people. He prescribed five daily prayers (namáz) and also mental ones (du'a). The foundation of his doctrine is the worship of the true God. He encouraged the poor, consoled the unfortunate, penetrated into things obscure, and blessed the living. The doctrine conforms to those of antiquity and of the present."

In 1730 A.D. the Emperor Yung-Shing severely blamed a

judge who had reported evil of the Muslims, and said:—"The Muḥammadans are all the children of the soil and belong to the Chinese family. I intend that they shall have religious liberty, for, in common with the other subjects of the Empire, they respect the laws. Religion is an affair of the conscience, with which no one should interfere."

In the year 1731 the same Emperor in the interests of agriculture, prohibited the slaughter of cows for food. The Muḥammadans represented to him that, as they could not eat pork, they would be put to much inconvenience. He replied to them in an imperial decree, of which the following is an extract:—"In all the provinces of the empire there have been for many centuries a great number of Muḥammadans, who form part of my people, and like the rest are my children. I make no difference between them and those who do not belong to their religion. I have often received from some officials complaints against them, because their religion differs from that of the Chinese, because they speak a different language and wear a different dress. They accuse them of disobedience and urge me to take strict measures against them. After examination, I find these charges groundless. The religion which they practise is that of their ancestors. Their language differs from ours, but then there are diverse dialects in China. The difference in their temples, dress, and manners is of no consequence. They bear good characters and show no signs of revolting. So long as they observe the social and civil laws they shall have religious freedom. The magistrates are not to deal with religious matters. In the interests of agriculture I have prohibited the killing of cows; some Muslims object on the ground that they require beef for food. It is a grave fault to disobey the Emperor. No good religion allows any one to injure others. Let the Muslims exhort themselves, correct this evil, and all will be well. I permit them freedom in the exercise of their religion; they, on the other hand, must respect the laws of the country of which they are adopted children." [1]

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[1] Darby de Thiersant's *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. I, pp. 154-6.

An imperial decree about the same date speaks of the many Muslims who came to the State examinations, and of the good conduct of those who had become officials in the Empire. A judge who had reported evil of them was degraded. The Chinese Musalmáns, thus allowed freedom in the exercise of their religion, have lived in the same way as the other inhabitants of the country. They submit to the same charges, enjoy the same rights, yet, whilst casting in their lot with the other subjects of the Empire, have, as regards their religious position and their personal laws, remained a distinct community.

The Chinese term for Muslim, given about the thirteenth century, is Hoey-Hoey, or Hoey-Tsee,[1] which means 'return and submission', in accordance with the verse in the Qurán which says:—"Verily, we are God's, and to Him shall we return."[2] In the annals of the dynasty of the Mongols (1260—1368 A.D.) this is the name given to Muslim converts. The Muḥammadans call themselves Mouminín (believers), and Muslimín (Muslims). The name given to the religion (dín) of Islám is Hoey-Hoey-Kiao or Tsin-Tching-Kiao, the true and pure religion. This last name dates from 1335 A.D., and its use was formally authorised by the then Emperor. The most ancient Mosque is called Tsin-Kiao-Sze, the temple of the pure religion. The ordinary Mosques are called Ly-Pay-Sze, temples of the ritual ceremonies. Muḥammadan writings are called Hoey-Hoey-Chou, a name applied to Arabic books and to Persian ones written in Arabic characters. On the frontier the old Turkish language is used in books.

The majority of the Chinese Muslims are Sunnis of the Ḥanífa maẕhab, or sect. As regards the main dogmas of the

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[1] For a curious discussion as to the derivation of this word, see, M. Gabriel Devéria's essay in *Centenaire de L'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* p. 103. One writer on the ground that in Chinese H. before O. may be equal to Kh, derives the word from يا خوى my brother: the plural form is اخوان shortened to Khuan—a technical term for the brethren in a religious Order.

[2] اِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَ اِنَّا اِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُوْنَ Súra ii. 151.

orthodox creed they are in agreement with their co-religionists elsewhere, but in speculative and philosophical questions they have been influenced by Buddhist and Confucian teaching. Living isolated for twelve centuries, in the midst of idolaters, and under a suspicious Government, the prejudices of which had to be duly considered and deprived of all facilities for reinvigorating their faith at the sanctuaries of their ancient saints, they have cultivated a humbler and more tolerant spirit than is common amongst Muslims in other Eastern lands.

They have never been able in China to assert with boldness that Islám is the one, absolute religion, outside of which there is no salvation. They have enjoyed equal civil rights with others, have qualified for and held official positions, involving conformity to certain national laws and customs contrary to the spirit of Islám, and necessitating the close study of certain philosophical doctrines alien to the teaching of Muḥammad. The result is that a certain laxness in practice has been permitted, and that the dogmatic system has been influenced by philosophic ideas taken from other religions.

Briefly stated, the cosmogony of the Chinese Muslims is that when all was void and non-existent, one true Lord existed by His own essential nature. As regards His substance, will and actions, He cannot be compared with any other being. From this two uncreated marvels emanated: first the mandate (the Kalám, or Word, of the Sufis), which is a communication from the real substance; and secondly, reason, of which again all material forms are but emanations. The nature of man is said to be the nearest approach to that of God.

The primordial material principle was divided into the male and female agencies. The former was active, the latter in repose. These were then transformed into water and fire, and from the combination of these air and earth were born. By an eruption of air and fire the sky and the stars were formed: earth and air met together and land and sea were produced. The sky and the earth having been thus formed, fire and water commenced their natural work of the nourishment

of created things. The four elements combined to form minerals and animals. The vegetable kingdom was the product of air and fire, combined with the nutritive properties of earth and water.

The creation of man was the result of the union in the primordial material principle of the male and female energies, combined with the Will of the True One.

The Chinese Muslims believe in Angels and Genii, beings spiritual and invisible to man. Their forms are perfect, their beauty unsurpassed, their youth perpetual. They have no carnal appetites or passions, and do not feel the pangs of hunger or of thirst. Their functions are to praise God continually and to transmit His orders rapidly; to watch over men, to record their actions in a book and to intercede with God for them; to regulate the movements of the earth, the moon, the planets, seasons, plants and animals. The four chief ones are Gabriel who reveals the mysteries of God to prophets; Michael who directs the elements; Azrail, the Angel of death; Israfil, the guardian of the trumpet and the announcer of the day of judgment. Munkir and Nakír are the Angels who examine the corpse in the tomb with regard to its faith when on earth. Genii are divided into two classes: those who believe in Islám and are good, those who do not and who dwell in eternal fire.

The 'Arsh, or throne of God, is in the ninth heaven, the Kursi,[1] or seat, in the eighth, and each has many constellations around it. The seven lower heavens contain each one planet, and each has its own special function. The heaven of the planet Jupiter manifests those things which are hidden; the heaven of the planet Mars sets forth the advent of evils and dangers; the heaven of the Sun is the source of animal and vegetable vitality and of the changing seasons, climate and weather; the heaven of the planet Venus influences the human

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[1] The 'Arsh and the Kursi were the first things which were created, then followed the eight heavens and the seven hells. Dabry de Thiersant's *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. II., p. 77.

voice, smell, taste and form; the heaven of the planet Mercury makes dull things clear, and dark things bright; the heaven of the Moon affects the tides, the augmentation and diminution of troubles also depend on it.

All created things return to the True One. He entirely fills the earth, embraces fully the heavens, and at last all things return to the great original of all.

God created the world in six days. Adam and Eve were placed in a garden, and were told not to eat of the fruit of a certain tree. The Devil, angry because he had been ordered to prostrate himself before Adam, determined to ruin the two by making them disobedient. As he could not enter Paradise he called upon a peacock for aid. The peacock referred him to a serpent, who consented to assist him. Then follows the ordinary account of the Fall, which came about by the eating of forbidden fruit. Adam was banished to the East, Eve to the West. For three hundred years they lived apart and in darkness. At last, in mercy, God dispelled the darkness and ordered Adam to make two rak'ats, or prayers, after which he gained some strength. Then the sun shone forth brightly, and four more prayers were said, and all trouble passed away. At noon, at three in the afternoon, and at night, prayers were said, and hence the origin of the fivefold daily prayers, or namáz. An angel soon conducted Adam to Eve, who was then on Mount Arafat, not far from Mecca. Other angels brought a tent from Paradise and placed it on a spot where in after days the Ka'ba was erected. God then taught Adam the true religion of Islám. This instruction Adam passed on to his descendants. Noah, after the flood, did the same. In the earliest days of the Chinese Empire, Islám was the recognised religion, but a period of ignorance set in and it was entirely forgotten. In Arabia alone was the true tradition preserved even unto the time of Muḥammad, by men specially qualified to do it. They may be divided into four classes. First, those who received a revelation, these are saints; secondly, those who received and who taught what was in

the sacred books; thirdly, those who were allowed to add to or take from the teaching of previous saints and who were the heads of their respective dispensations—such as Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Jesus; fourthly, those who could sum up all preceding dispensations and establish a final law. These are the highest of all saints, and there is only one such, Muḥammad, the seal of the Prophets.

The Muḥammadans believe in the salvation of Muslims only; but the Chinese Muḥammadans say that of non-Muslims one man in a thousand and one woman in ten thousand will get salvation. They further teach that as Eve was created from a bone taken from the left side of Adam,[1] and as the left side is inferior to the right one, women are worse than men. They tempt men to neglect religious duties and lead them astray. Women are said to love three things only—those who flatter them, their pleasure, and their own children.

The Chinese Muslims hold that all physical actions are the result of the immutable decrees of God, that moral acts depend on the will of the individual, who is free to choose. Each man is born with a different nature, but, whatever that nature may be, he does not the less possess the faculty of thinking and acting, according to his own will, subordinate to the power of God. The Chinese Muḥammadans are, then, practically what is known in Muslim theology as Qadrians.

As regards their relation to the State, Chinese Muslims inculcate loyalty to the Emperor, and conform, in a way unusual for Muslims, to certain practices of the State religion. That religion is made up of certain rites and ceremonies performed by the Emperor, and the functionaries who undertake the duties of priests. Sacrifices are offered to propitiate the superior powers. The public officials have to take part in

[1] Another form of this tradition used against female education is that the bone, being a rib bone, was bent, and so the disposition of woman is by nature crooked, and any attempt by education to improve it is clearly contrary to the natural order of things.

these observances. The Muslim functionaries, though they regard the whole thing as ridiculous and superstitious, conform to the law in their own interest and in that of their community. They know that such concessions to paganism are absolutely opposed to the iconoclastic system of Islám, but they yield to the temptation and hope that under the peculiar circumstances of the case they may receive pardon.[1]

The Chinese Muslims prohibit the use of tobacco, but opium smokers are numerous amongst them. Gambling and games are illegal, but they evade this by saying that the Prophet only forbad games of hazard, and allowed draughts and chess, which depend on the skill of the player. As a matter of fact, dice, cards, and betting at cock-fights are common, and the Muslims equally with other Chinese are gamblers. Usury is prohibited. Musical instruments must not be used in private or in public. Vocal music also is improper, though passages from the Qurán may be chanted at the time of prayer. Dancing is altogether wrong. It is also forbidden to make statues of men or figures of animals: but photographs are allowed.[2] Astrology, divinations, magic, and all calculations based on auguries and dreams, are utterly condemned. In this respect the Muslims have not fallen under the spell of the Chinese custom and practice in these matters. Amongst themselves they use the ordinary Muslim salutations, but to outsiders

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[1] "Les functionnaires Mahometans, quoiqu'ils considèrent ces cérémonies comme ridicules et superstitieuses, out préféré se conformer à la loi, et se contentent, quand ces obligations leur sont imposées, de faire *in petto* des restrictions que leur foi concilie avec leurs propres intérêts et ceux de leurs correligionnaires. Ces concessions sont, sans donte, loin d'être d'accord avec l'islamisme. Mais ils les regardent comme absolument nécessaries à leur cause, et ils sont convaincus, dans leur âme et conscience, qu' Allah leur pardonnera, en raison des difficultés et de l'importance du but qu'ils poursuivent, cette transgression flagrante de la loi." Dabry de Thiersant's *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. II, p. 174.

[2] It is sometimes said that as the sunlight does this and not man, this pictorial representation of the human form does not come under the prohibitive law.

they use the form common to all. They accept the Sunnat as a rule of faith and their law is based on this and on the traditions, on the unanimous consent of the early disciples and on analogical reasoning. These are technically called the Sunnat, Ijmá' and Qíás.[1]

Education is regulated partly by the Islámic law, and partly by the State system. At the age of four years, four months, and four days, a lad begins to read the Qurán by rote. This is called the Bismilláh. When he is about seven years old his general education begins. The Mosque schools are adapted to this purpose, and the Chinese, Arabic, and Persian languages are taught. This education is carried on till the young man is twenty-one years old. Later on, provided he passes the necessary examinations, he can enter the service of the State. If the lad is to devote his life to some manual trade the course of education is different. Girls do not receive a general education.

In each Mosque a tablet is suspended on which a Chinese inscription is written, indicating a wish that the Emperor may live for an indefinite time. This is regarded as an official authorisation of the erection of the Mosque. The Mosques have no minarets, and the Mu'a<u>zz</u>in announces prayer from the front entrance, and not, as usual elsewhere, from an elevated position. This is done in order not to excite the prejudices of the Chinese people. There are no convents or monasteries in China. The Imám and the Mu'a<u>zz</u>in live separately. They enjoy a certain portion of the revenue of the Mosque to which they are attached. In some provinces a certain amount of authority is accorded to them over the Muslim people in matters of religion, but they have no coercive jurisdiction and cases of dispute ultimately go before the Chinese authorities.

The books composed and published by the Chinese Muslims are not sold publicly, owing to the suspicious character of the

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[1] For a full explanation of these terms, see Sell's *Faith of Islám*, p. 15-40.

Government and the prejudices of the literary classes. It is said that the first Muḥammadan book published in Chinese appeared in 1642, and that it was written in order to show the points in common between Islám and Confucianism. In 1662 a large work was written, expounding the faith as made known by the early Muslim historians and theologians. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the author Lieon Tsee published works on the biography of the Prophet and on dogmatic theology. These are still the standard works on Islám. This writer has, however, been reproached for making too many concessions to the opinions of the learned men amongst the followers of Confucius. Works in Arabic and in Persian with Chinese translations also appear from time to time.

From the above statements it will be seen that Muslims in China possess much religious liberty, but that they purchase this by conforming to pagan practices and ceremonial, and by a subserviency to the prejudices of the State officials and of the literary classes, in a manner not usual amongst their co-religionists in other lands. As regards their dogmatic beliefs they may be classed as orthodox Muslims, but they are certainly lax and time-serving in their conduct and relation to others of an alien faith. Now and again they have broken out into rebellion, but, notwithstanding what men like Professor Vasilieff may say, it seems very doubtful whether a body of men, who for many centuries have conformed to customs repugnant to the true Muslim, can ever become the political force which, it is said, Russia fears they may become, or are at all likely to prove a hostile power in the future developments of the Chinese Empire.

THE RECENSIONS OF THE QURÁN.

VII.

THE various portions which now form the Qurán were recited by the Prophet during a period of twenty-three years, but during his lifetime they were never collected together or systematically arranged. Passages were written on palm leaves, leather, and on such other materials as came to hand, by individual hearers, but these were all disconnected and had no special authority. The great storehouse of the Qurán was the marvellous memory of the Arab people. It was recited again and again at each act of worship, and it was held in such reverence that the committal of it to memory was an act of the highest virtue.

We owe the Qurán as we now have it to two recensions, made by the first and third Khalifs, Abú Bakr and 'Uṣmán. At the battle of Yemana, probably within a year of the death of the Prophet, when the usurper Musailama was overthrown, a great many of the Qurán reciters were slain, and 'Umr, afterwards the second Khalif, began to fear lest the true text should be lost. There is a well authenticated tradition by Zaid ibn S̤ábit which records 'Umr's speech:—"I fear," he said to Abú Bakr, "that the battle may again wax hot amongst the Qurán reciters in other fields of battle, and that much may be lost therefrom; now, therefore, my advice is that thou

shouldst give speedy orders for the collection of the Qurán." This advice approved itself to the Khalif. He then summoned to his presence Zaid, who had been an amanuensis of the Prophet and had a great reputation for his knowledge of the Qurán. He said to him :—" Thou art a young man and wise; against whom no one amongst us can cast an imputation; and thou wert wont to write down the inspired revelations of the Prophet of the Lord, wherefore now search out the Qurán and bring it all together." Zaid collected it from the passages written as we have described, from all who could remember any portion, and when the whole was completed it was probably given to the Khalif Abú Bakr. It then came into the possession of the Khalif 'Umr who gave it to his daughter Ḥafaṣa, one of the widows of Muḥammad. This edition was for ten years the only one in full use.

The work whilst in progress was superintended by 'Umr. It is said that he accepted nothing as part of the Qurán which was not testified to by two persons. A case in point is the stoning verse, " The married man and the married woman when they commit adultery, then stone them without doubt." 'Umr said he could not vouch for this, but that he would have inserted it had he not feared that he might be charged with having added something to the Qurán. He himself knew the verse, but could not find corroborative testimony. The fact that stoning is the Muḥammadan legal punishment for adultery and that no other basis for it is known except this verse which 'Umr withdrew, seems to show that he had some authority for his statement. Anyhow its omission shows the care taken with this recension.

In the arrangement of the Qurán, Zaid seems to have had original passages before him and to have put them together without much regard to the sense. Thus we have the name Ṣuḥúf, loose leaves; and Súras, the rows, the name now given to the various chapters. A tradition recorded by Ibn 'Aliya says:—" Zaid after much labour compiled the Qurán without any order of Súras." Some orthodox Muslims hold that the

present form was ordained by God, and follows an arrangement made by the Companions of the Prophet; in which case it is difficult to see the need of Abú Bakr's recension.

It is said by the German critic, Weil, that Abú Bakr altered some passages. Thus Weil adduces the tradition that 'Umr would not believe that the Prophet was dead and vehemently expressed his doubts, until Abú Bakr recited some passages from the Qurán on the subject of the death of Muḥammad. Weil considers that 'Umr and other Muslims did not know of these passages and that Abú Bakr invented them. But Nöldeke, Muir, and other competent critics think that this is a gratuitous assumption without the least foundation in fact.

The circumstances are these: 'Umr, on seeing the placid countenance of the Prophet, said:—"He is not dead, he hath only swooned away." To one who tried to convince him he replied, "Thou liest, the Apostle of God is not dead . . . the Prophet of the Lord shall not die, until he has rooted out every hypocrite and unbeliever." In words similar to these he addressed the crowd which had now gathered together. Then Abú Bakr said:—"Silence! 'Umr, sit thee down, be quiet. Hath not the Almighty revealed this verse to the Prophet, saying, 'Verily thou shalt die and they shall die.'[1] And again, after the battle of Uḥud, the revelation came, 'Muḥammad is no more than an Apostle: other Apostles have already passed away before him. If he die, therefore, or be killed, will ye turn[2] upon your heels?'[3] Let him then know, whosoever worshippeth Muḥammad, that Muḥammad is dead." Then 'Umr was satisfied. There are also other passages which speak of death,

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1 إِنَّكَ مَيِّتٌ وَإِنَّهُمْ مَيِّتُونَ Súra xxxix. 31.

2 *i.e.*, return to idolatry. A report had been spread in the battle of Uḥud that Muḥammad was slain.

3 وَمَا مُحَمَّدٌ إِلَّا رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ الرُّسُلُ أَفَإِنْ مَاتَ أَوْ قُتِلَ انْقَلَبْتُمْ عَلَىٰ أَعْقَابِكُمْ Súra iii. 138.

such as:—"Have We granted to man before thee a life that shall last for ever; if thou then die, shall they live for ever? Every soul shall taste of death"[1] "Every soul shall taste of death: then to Us shall ye return."[2] Abú Bakr must, therefore, be pronounced innocent of the fraud charged upon him, for it is unreasonable to suppose that he interpolated them all. Weil also considers that verse 14 of Súra xlvi. is an interpolation. "We have commanded man to show kindness to his parents, his mother beareth him and bringeth him forth with pain, and his bearing and his weaning is thirty months; until when he attaineth strength and the age of forty years, he saith, 'O Lord give me inspiration, that I may be grateful for Thy favour wherewith thou hast favoured me and my parents.'" According to the commentator Ḥusain, Abú Bakr embraced Islám in his thirty-eighth year. His parents were also converted, and in his fortieth year he said:—"O Lord give me inspiration that I may be grateful." Thus this verse has been supposed to refer to him, but this by no means proves that he interpolated it, for had he wished to introduce a verse about himself, he surely would have invented one far less obscure. This charge then may be dismissed as having no basis in fact.

Although the recension thus made under the direction of Abú Bakr was of the nature of a private undertaking, and too much importance ought not to be attached to it, yet it was of great value as forming the basis for the authoritative recension of the Khalif 'Usmán. Some authorities consider it uncertain whether Zaid completed his work before the death

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[1] وَمَا جَعَلْنَا لِبَشَرٍ مِنْ قَبْلِكَ ٱلْخُلْدَ أَفَإِنْ مِتَّ فَهُمُ ٱلْخَالِدُونَ كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَآئِقَةُ ٱلْمَوْتِ
Súra xxi. 35—6.

The phrase مِن قَبْلِكَ—before thee—is ambiguous and it might seem to imply that Muḥammad was different to those gone before and would not die, but the Commentators do not so interpret it and deduce from the whole passage the universality of death.

[2] كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَآئِقَةُ ٱلْمَوْتِ ثُمَّ إِلَيْنَا تُرْجَعُونَ Súra xxix. 51.

of Abú Bakr or not, and the fact that the work when finished was handed over to Ḥafaṣa, the daughter of 'Umr, would imply that Abú Bakr was now dead. In any case the private nature of the undertaking is evident.

With the great mass of the people there was no critical study of the Qurán, for they were far too busy with the ceaseless fighting that went on, and in the accumulation of booty. The result was that they went on reciting the Qurán as they had been accustomed to do and paid little attention to Zaid's arrangement, and many knew very little about it. After the battle of Kadesia (637 A.H.), 'Umr ordered the leader of the victorious army to divide the booty amongst the warriors who were best acquainted with the Qurán. One was called up and he replied that he had been so engaged in fighting that he did not know anything by heart. Another said that he only knew the 'Bismillah'—'In the name of God most merciful and compassionate'. As time went on, even amongst professed scholars, discrepancies arose, and those who in their several districts were looked upon as authorities maintained the superiority of the readings they favoured and quarrels commenced on the subject. The inhabitants of Ḥims stood by the readings of Al Miqdád bin Al-Aswad; the Kúfites by those of Ibn Mas'úd;[1] the Baṣrites by those of Abú Músa, and so on. The consequences threatened to be very serious, for men wondered how, as the Qurán sent down by God was one, there could be different texts, and so the Khalif 'Uṣmán determined to bring out a new and authoritative recension. He appointed Zaid, who was a native of Madína, and some learned men amongst the Quraish[2] to do the work. They took Abú Bakr's compilation as the basis of the new

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[1] One of the Prophet's saying is thus recorded :—"Whosoever wishes to recite the Qurán correctly and with elegance let him follow the reading of Ibn Mas'úd." Ibn Mas'úd refused at first to give up his copy to the revision committee. The Khalif ordered him to be beaten, from the effect of which he died. *Journal Asiatique*, Décembre 1843, p. 385.

[2] This was the Meccan tribe or family to which the Prophet belonged.

book, and collected all the copies they could get. When they had finished the work, 'Usmán destroyed all the books of the old edition he could get, except the copy which belonged to Hafasa. This, however, was destroyed soon after by Manoan, the Governor of Madína. The now authorised edition was sent forth into all the provinces as the only recognized book.

In the case of any difference of opinion, Zaid had to give way, and the final decision lay with the Quraish members of the revision committee, or with the Khalif himself. Thus the Qurán was preserved in the Meccan dialect. An example of the Khalif's interference is given in the tradition which records that 'Ali wished to write تابوة with ة: the others with ت as تابوت and 'Usmán decided in favour of the latter, as being according to the Quraish dialect. This is rather an unfortunate illustration, as تابوت is not an Arabic word, but was borrowed by Muhammad from the Rabbinical Hebrew.[1] All the various traditions on such points are intended to show that the recension is according to the Meccan dialect, the language of Gabriel and of Muhammad. It is said by some that the Khalif had a political motive in his action in this matter, and that he hoped that the settling of doubt as to the Quránic text and the production of an authorised edition, would raise him in the estimation of the true believers and so strengthen his party against their adversaries, who were numerous and powerful. This may be so, but he had the support and sanction of the Companions of the Prophet, for without their assent and co-operation it could not have been done. It is evident that the Khalif collected all the revelations he could procure, and exercised care and caution. Ibn Zubair says:—"I read to 'Usmán the verse, 'Such of you as shall die and leave wives shall bequeath their wives a year's maintenance without causing them to quit their homes'[2]; but the

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[1] See Geiger's *Judaism and Islám* (S.P.C.K., Madras), p. 31.
[2] Súra ii. 240.

phrase 'quit their homes' is abrogated by other verses,[1] so why have you written it?' Then 'Uṣmán said, 'O my nephew, leave it, I will not change anything from its place.'"

The present form of the Qurán was established by Zaid and his coadjutors. They retained the Bismilláh, except at the heading of Súra ix. The reason they gave for this was that they were in considerable doubt as to whether Súras viii. and ix. should not come together. At last they finally agreed to separate them, but omitted the Bismilláh, as that is a very definite sign of separation. Its absence shows that there was some doubt about the division into two Súras. The arrangement of the Súras is quite arbitrary and depends on no principle at all. Many Súras are very composite. Probably the people could not tell Zaid when various parts which they brought to his notice were revealed, and so the portions got mixed up together without any regard to dates or place. Thus when Muḥammad bin Sirín asked 'Akrama whether the Qurán was to be in chronological order, he said:—"Collect it just as it came down, first portion first, second second, and so on; if men and genii tried they could not do it in this order."

In fact, the age and the men were uncritical, and the only apparent rule followed was to arrange the portions of a Súra in the best way possible and then to put the longer Súras first in order and the shorter ones last, without any reference to chronological sequence.

Some of the Súras have single letters prefixed to them, the meanings of which it is impossible to determine. These are the letters Á.L.M.; Á.L.M.R.; Á.L.R.; Ṭ.A.; Kaf, Ha, Ya, 'Ain, Ṣád.[2] This latter set occurs in the beginning of Súra xix., which contains the histories of John the Baptist and of Christ, and which was recited to the King of Abyssinia in the presence of the ambassadors whom Muḥammad sent

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[1] *e.g.*, v. 234, which limits the obligation to four months and ten days.

[2] آلم آلمر آلر طه كهيعص

to him. This had led Dr. Sprenger to suppose that these mystic words stand for a Christian symbol, just as the letters I.N.R.I. stand for *Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum.* So he would make out of these letters the following sentence:—

عيسي النصاري ملك اليهوديين

In Arabic, it is not necessary to use the first letter of a word for an abbreviation. The most prominent letter in a word can be taken, so Dr. Sprenger takes ع ص ك and هي and supposes the words were written thus and were read,[1] as legends on coins are read, from below, thus:—

ع = عيسي and ص = النصاري that is, Jesus the Nazarene.
ك = ملك and هي = يهودي that is, King of the Jews.

This is very curious but not at all probable. Ibn Khaldún says:—"God has placed these letters in several Súras as a sort of defiance, as if He had said,—'These are the elements which compose the Qurán, take them and make a book equal to it in style.'" This is in accordance with the idea that just as men know these letters but can make nothing out of them, so no one can compose anything equal to the Qurán. Several explanations are given by Sale in the preliminary discourse to his translation of the Qurán. Nöldeke considers them to have been private marks of the owners put on the copies lent to Zaid, which have inadvertently crept into the text.

Muslims believe that the Qurán is incorruptible—"a book whose verses are established in wisdom, and then set forth with clearness"[2]; but the fact that 'Uṣmán and his company of revisers had to consider a variety of readings, to weigh their authority, and if necessary to discard them in favour of the Meccan readings, caused no small scandal. But a way was found out of the difficulty. Abú Ibn Káb, one of the Companions, became so famous as a reciter of the Qurán that the Prophet himself said:—"Read the Qurán under Ibn Káb."

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[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. 20, p. 280.

[2] كِتَٰبٌ أُحْكِمَتْ آيَٰتُهُ ثُمَّ فُصِّلَتْ Súra xi. 1.

Ibn Káb one day stated that, scandalised at man after man who entered the Mosque repeating the Qurán in different ways, he spoke to Muḥammad about it. The Prophet said:—"O Abú Ibn Káb! intelligence was sent to me to read the Qurán in one dialect, and I was attentive to the Court of God, and said:—'Make easy the reading of the Qurán to my sects.' Then instructions were sent to me a second time saying, 'Read the Qurán in two dialects.' Then I turned myself to the Court of God, saying, 'Make easy the reading of the Qurán to my sects.' Then a voice was sent to me the third time, saying, 'Read the Qurán in seven dialects.'" There is also a tradition that 'Umr said:—"During the lifetime of the Prophet I heard a man read a chapter of the Qurán. I heard the readings which he followed, and, as they were different from those which I knew and which I had heard from the mouth of the Prophet, I feared the Namáz would be spoilt. At the close of the Prayers I was angry with him and struck him a blow, and demanded to know where he had heard these readings. He declared that he had heard them from Muḥammad. We then went to the Prophet to settle the dispute. He said they were correct and added, 'In truth, the Qurán is revealed in seven dialects, read it in as many ways as you can.'" [1]

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[1] *Journal Asiatique*, Décembre 1843, p. 378. This tradition concerning the "seven readings" is referred to in well-known books thus:

أُنْزِلَ الْقُرانُ عَلى سَبْعَةِ أحرُفٍ The Qurán was revealed in seven readings (words)—*Masábih.*

أُنْزِلَ الْقُرانُ عَلى سبع لُغَاتٍ The Qurán was revealed in seven dialects—*Majma'u'l Ghará'ib.*

نَزَلَ الْقُرانُ على سبعةِ أحرفٍ كُلّها كافٍ شافٍ The Qurán descended with seven readings, all perfect and sacred—*Majma'u'l Bihár.*

It is said that the seven dialects were those of the Quraish, Hawázin, Ṭai, Hazíl, Ḥimyar, Shaqíf, and Yaman.

فكانة قال سبع لغات العرب كقريش و هوازن وطى و هزيل وحمير و ثقيف و يمن الخ

Others say that the "seven readings" represent seven different copies, of which two were in use in Madína, one in Mecca, one in Kúfa, one in Baṣra, one in Syria, and one called the 'common edition' which is the one now in use. Mírzá Káẓim Beg points out that this last explanation is untenable, as the seven different copies did not come into existence until after the death of the Prophet.

This removed all difficulty, and the foresight displayed by the Prophet in thus obtaining a divine sanction for the various ways of reading the Qurán was looked upon as a proof of his inspiration. Thus arose the 'haft qirá'at', or 'seven readings' of the Qurán now recognised. These are called after seven men famous as Qurán readers, and as 'Usmán's Qurán had no vowel points, great opportunities for differences in pronunciation arose. In course of time public opinion settled down on two of the styles as most appropriate, and now these are in actual use. The reading-style of Ḥafṣ, a disciple of Imám 'Ásim, is followed in India, and that of Náfí' in Africa and Arabia.[1]

The fact that 'Usmán, when his own recension was complete, burnt all the copies of the older edition he could find was made the basis of a charge of the alteration of the original text. He defended himself thus: "They say that I burnt the Qurán. I did it because it was in small portions in the hands of men and every one said :—'I have the best one.' I collected them all, placed a long Súra first, a medium length one in the middle, and a short one at the end, arranged all well and handed them over to men; but the Qupáns which they had I collected and burnt." The probability is that 'Usmán made the best recension then possible, but there are traditions regarding other forms of the book, for they did not all become extinct at once. Of these the most important are those of Ubai ibn Káb and of Ibn Mas'úd. Ubai is said to have brought together Súras cv. and cvi., contrary to the sense. He varies the order of the Súras and is said to have added two new ones, called Súratu'l Khala' and Súratú'l Hafd, or, as it is also called, Súratu'l Qanút. These are:

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

O God we pray Thee for help and forgiveness: we praise Thee and are not unthankful towards Thee, and we let go and

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[1] A fuller account of these Qárís, or Qurán Readers, and the 'various readings' which they have introduced will be found in an Appendix.

forsake every one who trespasses against Thee."

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. O God we serve Thee, and to Thee do we pray, and Thee do we worship; we hasten to Thee; we strive after Thee; we hope for Thy pity, and we fear Thy punishment. Truly, Thy punishment overcomes the unbelievers."

These may have been simple prayers, written on the margin of a Qurán, but it is not clear whether this is the case or not. The oldest book in which Nöldeke found them is one written in the fifth century of the Hijra. The second Súra of these two, it is said, should be placed in the Qurán after the words of Súra x. 10, "Glory be to Thee, O God, and their salutation therein 'Peace'." There are expressions in these Súras not found in the authorised Qurán, *e.g.*, أثني and حفد. Then كفر is not constructed with the accusative, but with ب. Again فجر in the sense of trespass does not take the accusative.

The objection is taken to these Súras, that in them man addresses God and not God man; but Súra i. in the Qurán is similar in style, and in any case the word قل, 'say', may be understood, so this objection has no weight. According to the Traditions these prayers seem to have been known in early times.

Ibn Mas'úd's copy omitted Súras i., cxiii., and cxiv. 'Ali's copy of the Qurán is said to have been arranged chronologically, Súra xcvi. being put first; but as it is not extant, it is impossible to say whether this account is correct or not. The copy possessed by 'Áyesha is said to have been arranged in a different order from the one made by Zaid. Other copies joined together Súras xciii. and xciv., but they have all disappeared.

The most serious opponent of 'Uṣmán's text was Ibn Mas'úd, a companion of the Prophet and a great theologian. Ibn Mas'úd refused to give up his copy of the Qurán to the President of the Revision Committee and thus incurred the anger of the Khalif, by whom he was publicly chastised. He died a few days after from the effects of the beating he had

received. This unnecessary and cruel act on the part of the Khalif was disapproved of by his contemporaries, and has ever since been looked upon by the Shí'ahs as an atrocious crime. But notwithstanding the number of enemies 'Uṣmán had, his Qurán held its ground, and as any valid cause of opposition would have found eager partisans, we must assume from the general acceptance given to it, that it was looked upon as genuine. By far the most serious objection to it is that made by the Shí'ahs, though there is no good historical evidence that 'Ali or his followers in the earliest period ever rejected 'Uṣmán's book. The charges made against him are of much later date, and though their historical value may not be great, they cannot be entirely overlooked. No doubt some copies of the Qurán were preserved by their owners in spite of the Khalif's orders that all should be destroyed. A Shí'ah tradition records that "the Prophet said,—'O 'Ali! Truly the Qurán delivered to you is written in fragments on pieces of silk and of skin; collect them, but do not act as the Jews did with the Book of the Law.' 'Ali said that he received this copy covered up in a yellow cloth, and read it to the Prophet in his house."

This was why, according to Shí'ah tradition, 'Ali said the Qurán ought to be kept in his family. When 'Umr asked him to lend his copy in order that other copies might be compared with it, he refused, saying that the Qurán he possessed was the most accurate and perfect, and could not be submitted to any changes and alterations which might be found necessary in the other copies. He said that he intended to hand down his copy to his descendants to be kept until the advent of the Imám Mahdi.[1] Assuming that this tradition is

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[1] *Journal Asiatique*, Décembre 1843, p. 387.

It is said that 'Ali, after the death of the Prophet, read to the Companions a complete version which he had received from the Prophet.

قال رسـول اللّٰه صلى اللّٰه عليه وآله لعلى عليه السّـلام يا على انّ القران خلف فراشى فى الصحف و الحرير و القراطيس فخذوه و اجمعوه و لا تضيّعوه كما ضيّعت اليهود التورة فانطلق على فجمعه فى ثوب اصفر ثم ختم عليه فى بيته و قال لا ارتدى حتى اجمعه

correct, the question naturally arises as to how it was that 'Ali did not get his own copy recognised as the one and only authorised book. The reply is that, in the troublous times in which he lived, he had neither the leisure nor the opportunity to convince the Muslims who supported his rivals that they had been unjustly dealt with, nor could he circulate his own copy of the Qurán without calling in all of 'Usmán's copies and this was an act he dared not venture on. It would have simply increased the already existing dissensions and have hastened his downfall, so he left the matter alone. After the assassination of 'Ali, his sons Ḥasan and Ḥusain were subjugated by Mu'áwiya, and outwardly, at least, acknowledged the authorised Qurán as the true one, and said that the Faithful should use it as it was, without any regard to other passages or fragments regarded by some of their followers as intrinsic portions of the true text. In secret, however, they assured their partisans that the complete Qurán would remain concealed until the appearance of Al Mahdi, the last Imám, at the close of the present dispensation.

According to Shaikh Abú Ja'faru'l Qúmi their case stood thus:[1] "We believe that the Qurán given to the Prophet is contained within its covers, and is now found in use. The number of Súras is generally acknowledged to be one hundred and fourteen, but according to our view Súras xciii. and xciv. form one; Súras cv, and cvi. also form one; Súras viii. and ix.[2] form one, and he who attributes to us a Qurán different from this is a liar."

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[1] اعتقادنا فی مبلغ القران الّذی انزله اللّه تعالی علی نبیه محمد صلّی اللّه علیه و آله انّه هو مابین الدّفتین فی اید النّاس لیس باکثر من ذلك و مبلغ سوره عند العامّه مایٔة و اربعة عشر سورةً و عندنا والضّحی و الم نشرح سورة واحدة و الم ترکیف ولایلاف قریش سورة واحدة و الانفال والتوبة سورة واحدة و من نسب الینا انّ القران اکثر من ذلك فهو کاذبٌ

Journal Asiatique, Décembre 1843.

[2] As the Bismillah is omitted before Súra ix., some Sunnis also looked upon it as part of the previous Súra.

As already explained, the Shí'ahs defend the assent given to 'Uṣmán's recension by the assertion of their belief that the hidden parts will be made known to the whole Muslim world by Imám Mahdi. Still some of the more fanatic Mullás[1] of the Shí'ah sect, hold that certain passages are even now authoritative, and charge 'Umr and 'Uṣmán with having suppressed or altered them. They describe the defects in the present Qurán as due to

(i) Omission of certain words and phrases.[2]

Thus in Súra iv. 164 we read:—"God is Himself witness of what He hath sent down to thee *concerning 'Ali;*" in Súra v. 71, "O Apostle! proclaim all that hath been sent down to thee from the Lord *concerning 'Ali;*" in Súra iv. 136, "Of a truth those who believed and then became unbelievers, then believed and again became unbelievers, and then increased their unbelief *with regard to the family of Muḥammad and their rights,*" it is not God who will pardon them; and in Súra xxvi. 228, "But they who treat them, *the family of Muḥammad and their rights,* unjustly shall know what a lot awaiteth them."

(ii) Alteration of verses or passages.

In Súra iii. 106, "Ye are the best nation that hath been raised up unto mankind: ye enjoin the just and forbid the evil." For 'nations' read 'Imáms', that is, ائمّة for أمّة. The

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[1] The names are 'Ali bin Ibráhímu'l Qúmi; Muḥammad Ya'qúbu'l Kulaini; Shaikh Aḥmad bin 'Ali Ṭálibu'ṭ Ṭabrasi and Shaikh Abú 'Ali'ṭ Ṭabrasí.

[2] The parts said to have been omitted are printed in the Arabic given below, enclosed in brackets; in the English text they appear in italics.

لٰكِنِ اللّٰهُ يَشْهَدُ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اِلَيْكَ (فی عَلی) Súra iv. 164.

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ اِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ (فی علی) Súra v. 71.

اِنَّ الَّذِيْنَ اٰمَنُوا ثُمَّ كَفَرُوا ثُمَّ اٰمَنُوا ثُمَّ كَفَرُوا ثُمَّ ازْدَادُوا كُفْرًا (آل محمد حقهم)
لَمْ يَكُنِ اللّٰهُ لِيَغْفِرَ لَهُمْ Súra iv. 136.

وَسَيَعْلَمُ الَّذِيْنَ ظَلَمُوا (آل محمد حقهم) اَیَّ مُنْقَلَبٍ يَنْقَلِبُوْنَ Súra xxvi. 228.

Shí'ahs support their reading by saying that the description given of the enjoining and the forbidding applies more correctly to the Imáms as rulers than to a nation in its corporate capacity.

In Súra xxv. 74, "O our Lord! give us in our wives and offspring the joy of our eyes and make us examples to those that fear Thee." For 'make us examples to those that fear Thee' اجعلنا للمتقين اماماً read 'make for us Imáms, from those that fear Thee,"— اجعل لنا من المتقين اماماً that is, from 'Ali and his descendants.

In Súra xiii. 12, "Each one has angels before him and behind, who watch over him by God's order." The Shí'ahs read "Each one has Angels behind him and *guardians* (رقيب) who watch over him by God's order."

In Súra xi. 20, "(With such shall he—Muḥammad—be compared) who rest upon clear proofs from their Lord? to whom a witness from him reciteth (the Qurán) preceded by the Book of Moses, a guide and mercy."[1] The other reading is, 'To whom a witness from him reciteth (the Qurán), a guide and mercy, preceded by the Book of Moses."[2] The witness, who is the "guide and mercy," is 'Ali who comes from him, that is Muḥammad. Thus it is not, as in the received text, the Book of Moses which is the "guide and mercy." The whole verse is a difficult one. Some say the witness is Gabriel, who came from Him (God) and recited the Qurán to Muḥammad. Some say the 'clear proof' is Muḥammad and the witness 'Ali; others that the 'witness' is the Qurán itself.[3]

In Súra xxiii. 39, "There is no life beyond our present life; we die and we live and we shall not be quickened again."

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[1] أَفَمَنْ كَانَ عَلَى بَيِّنَةٍ مِّن رَّبِّهِ وَ يَتْلُوهُ شَاهِدٌ مِّنْهُ وَمِنْ قَبْلِهِ كِتٰبُ مُوسَى اِمَاماً وَّرَحْمَةً

[2] وَ يَتْلُوهُ شَاهِدٌ مِّنْهُ اِمَاماً وَ رَحْمَةً وَ مِن قَبْلِهِ كِتٰبُ مُوسَى

[3] *Khuláṣatu't Tafásír*, Vol. II, p. 383.

The Shí'ahs say that the order must be inverted—'we live and we die '.[1]

(iii) Verses defective in respect of their order.

Súra ii. 58: "He (Moses) said, 'What, will ye exchange that which is worse for what is better? Get ye down into Egypt, for ye shall have what ye asked.'" It is said that in the correct and true Qurán these words were immediately followed by others, now found in Súra v. 23: "They said, 'O Moses! Therein are men of might and verily we can by no means enter in until they be gone forth.'"

In Súra xxv. 6 the opponents of Muḥammad say of the Qurán, "Tales of the Ancients hath he put in writing and they were dictated to him morning and evening." It is said that in the original Qurán these words were followed by a passage now found in Súra xxix. 47, in which God says to Muḥammad, "Thou didst not recite any book (of revelation) before it; with that right hand of thine thou didst not transcribe one."

But the most serious charge of all is that of the omission of a whole Súra, called the Súratu'n-Núrain, or 'Two Lights', by which Muḥammad and 'Ali are meant. It is as follows:—

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

"O ye who believe, believe in the two lights We have sent down, who have recited Our signs and warned you of the punishments of the Last Day. These two lights (proceed) the one from the other.[2] Truly, I am the Hearer, the Knower.

"For those who obey the orders of God and of His Prophet, for them, according to these verses, there is a Paradise of Delights; but those who disbelieve after they have believed, and who break their promise and that which the Prophet had stipulated for them, shall be cast into Hell.

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[1] *i.e.*, for نموت و نحيى read نحيى و نموت

[2] A reference to the Shí'ah interpretation of Súra xi. v. 30, according to which 'Ali proceeds from Muḥammad.

"They who have injured their own souls and have been disobedient to the successor of the Prophet[1] (*i.e.*, 'Ali), they shall drink of the scalding water.

"Truly, God is He who gives light to the heavens and to the earth, and who chooses the angels, the Prophets, and who makes believers; they are His creation, He creates what He wills: there is no God but He, the merciful and gracious.

"Truly, those who were before them have deceived their prophets. I have punished them for their deceit, and my punishment is severe and strong.

"Truly, God has destroyed 'Ád and Ṣamúd[2] on account of what they did and has made them as a memorial to you, but ye did not believe. And He did the same with regard to Pharaoh for his opposition to Moses and his brother Aaron. He drowned him and all who followed him as a sign to you, yet most of you are perverse. Truly, God will gather them together in the day of resurrection, and they will not be able to answer when questioned: for them is the Hell, for God is knowing and wise.

"O Prophet! publish my warnings, perhaps they will follow them. In truth, they who turned from my signs and my orders have perished. As to those who keep thy covenant, I

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1 'Ali is called وصىّ رسول الله

2 The tribe of 'Ad dwelt to the north of Mecca and that of Ṣamúd near by. The prophet Húd was rejected by the 'Adites and the prophet Sálih by the Ṣamúdites. These men were probably Jewish teachers or Christian evangelists. The destruction of the tribes is referred to in Súras vii. 71-77; lxxxix. 5-13. Muḥammad attributed the disappearance of these tribes to supernatural causes, but a very simple explanation of the fact can be given. The Roman merchants, by opening up direct communication between the Indian Ocean and Suez, destroyed to a great extent the caravan trade of Arabia. Syria and Northern Arabia also became the arena of conflict between Persia and Byzantium. The whole country fell into disorder, cities were ruined and the people in large numbers returned to a wandering life and some tribes disappeared altogether. Muḥammad made skilful use of a perfectly natural event to show how divine vengeance followed a people who rejected a prophet, and thus gave a warning to people who might be tempted to reject him.

reward them with the Paradise of Delights. Truly, God is the Pardoner and the great Rewarder.

"Truly, 'Ali is one of the pious men, and we will restore his rights to him at the Day of Judgment. We are not ignorant of the injustice done to Him. We have exalted him above all thy family, and he and his posterity are patient and his enemies are the chief of sinners.

"Say to those who have disbelieved after they had believed, 'You have sought the glory of worldly life and have hastened to gain it, and have forgotten what God and His prophet promised you, and you broke the promises after a strict order about them.' We have given you examples, perhaps you may be guided.

"O Prophet! We have sent the manifest signs; in them are shown who will believe on him ('Ali) and who after thee will turn away from him ('Ali).

"Turn from them; certainly they turn aside and certainly We will summon them on the Day (of Judgment), when nothing shall avail them and no one shall pity them. Truly, there is a place for them in Hell and they shall not return. Praise the name of thy Lord and be of those who worship Him.

"Truly, We sent Moses and Aaron with what was needed and they rebelled against Aaron. Patience is good, so we changed them to monkeys and pigs,[1] and have cursed them till the day of resurrection. Be patient, they will be punished. We have sent thee an order, as We did to preceding prophets. We have appointed to thee a successor[2] from among them: perhaps they will return. He who turns from my

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[1] Súras ii. 62; v. 65; vii. 166.

In the first and third of these references, the punishment is awarded on account of Sabbath breaking, in the second for the rejection of the scriptures. It is not in any way connected with Moses and Aaron. The orthodox leaders, therefore, hold this passage to be spurious and so the whole Súra to be void of any authority.

[2] *i.e.*, 'Ali.

order, from him I will turn, they get but little benefit from their unbelief. Do not ask about those who break the law.

"O Prophet! We have made for thee a compact on the neck[1] of those who believe; possess it and be of the number of those who are thankful.

"Truly, 'Ali is constant in prayer at night making the prescribed prostrations (sájidan), and he fears the Last Day and hopes for mercy from his God.

"Say, how can those be compared who make tyranny, and those who know my troubles. They will place charms on their necks and they will repent of their works.

"We gave good news to thee of pious descendants, and they will not be disobedient; my peace and my mercy is on them, living or dead, and on the day when they shall rise again. My anger is on those who after thee transgress amongst them. Truly, they are a bad people and will wander from the right way; but those who go on in the way, on them is my mercy and they will be safe in the lofty rooms (of Paradise).

"Praise be to the Lord of both worlds. Amen."

The following is the Arabic text of this Súra, which is known as Súratu'n Núrain.

سورة النّورين اِثْني و اربعين آية

بسم اللّٰه الرّحمٰن الرّحيم

يا ايّها الّذين آمنوا امنوا بالنّورين انزلنا هما يتلوان عليكم اياتي ويحذرانكم
عذاب يوم عظيم ۝ نوران بعضهما من بعض و انّا لسميع عليم ۝ انّ الّذين
يوفون بعهد اللّٰه و رسوله في ايات لهم جنّات نعيم ۝ والّذين كفروا من بعد
ما امنوا بنقضهم ميثاقهم وما عاهدهم الرّسول عليه يقذفون في الجحيم ۝

[1] *i.e.*, they must keep it.

ظلموا أنفسهم وعصوا لوصي الرسول ؕ أولئك يسقون من حميم ۝ إن الله الذي
نور السموات والأرض بما شاء واصطفى من الملائكة والرسل ۚ وجعل من
المؤمنين ۝ أولئك من خلقه ؕ يفعل الله ما يشاء لا إله إلا هو الرحمن الرحيم ۝
قد مكر الذين من قبلهم برسلهم ۚ فأخذتهم بمكرهم إن أخذي شديد أليم ۝
إن الله قد أهلك عادا وثمود بما كسبوا وجعلهم لكم تذكرة ۚ فلا تتقون ۝
وفرعون بما طغى على موسى وأخيه هرون ؕ أغرقته ومن تبعه أجمعين ۝
ليكون لكم آية ؕ وإن أكثركم فاسقون ۝ إن الله يجمعهم يوم الحشر ۚ
فلا يستطيعون الجواب حين يسألون ۝ إن الجحيم مأواهم ۚ وإن الله عليم
حكيم ۝ يا أيها الرسول بلغ إنذاري فسوف يعلمون ۝ قد خسر الذين كانوا عن
آياتي وحكمي معرضون ۝ مثل الذين يوفون بعهدك إني جزيتهم جنات
النعيم ۝ إن الله لذو مغفرة وأجر عظيم ۝ وإن عليا لمن المتقين ۝ وإنا
لنوفيه حقه يوم الدين ۝ وما نحن عن ظلمه بغافلين ۝ وكرمناه على أهلك
أجمعين ۝ وإنه وذريته لصابرون ۝ وإن عدوهم إمام المجرمين ۝ قل للذين
كفروا بعد ما آمنوا طلبتم زينة الحيوة الدنيا ۙ واستعجلتم بها ونسيتم ما وعدكم
الله ورسوله ۚ

ونقضتم العهود من بعد توكيدها ؕ وقد ضربنا لكم الأمثال لعلكم
تهتدون ۝ يا أيها الرسول قد أنزلنا إليك آيات بينات ۙ فيها من يتوفه مؤمنا ؕ
ومن يتوله من بعدك يظهرون ۝ فأعرض عنهم ۚ إنهم معرضون ۝ إنا لهم
محضرون ۙ في يوم لا يغني عنهم شيء ولا هم يرحمون ۝ إن لهم في جهنم مقاما ۙ
عنه لا يعدلون ۝ فسبح باسم ربك وكن من الساجدين ۝ ولقد أرسلنا موسى

وهارون بما استخلف فبغوا هارون فصبر جميل فجعلنا منهم القردة
والخنازير ولعناهم الي يوم يبعثون ۝ فاصبر فسوف يبلون ۝ ولقد اتينا بك الحكم
كالذين من قبلك من المرسلين ۝ و جعلنا لك منهم وصيا لعلهم يرجعون ۝
ومن يتول عن امري فاني مرجعه فليتمتعوا بكفرهم قليلا فلا تسال عن
الناكثين ۝ يا ايها الرسول قد جعلنا لك في اعناق الذين آمنوا عهدا فخذه
وكن من الشاكرين ۝ ان عليا قانتا بالليل ساجدا يحذر الاخرة و يرجو ثواب
ربه قل هل يستوي الذين ظلموا وهم بعذابي يعلمون ۝ سيجعل الاغلال
في اعناقهم وهم علي اعمالهم يندمون ۝ انا بشرناك بذرية الصالحين ۝
وانهم لامرنا لا يخلفون ۝ فعليهم مني صلوة ورحمة واحياء او امواتا ويوم
يبعثون ۝ وعلي الذين يبغون عليهم من بعدك غضبي انهم قوم سوء
خاسرين ۝ وعلي الذين سلكوا مسلكهم مني رحمة وهم في الغرفات
امنون ۝ والحمد لله رب العالمين ۝ آمين *

تمت

Mírzá Káẓim Beg, to whose researches we are indebted for a copy of this Súra in the original Arabic, does not believe in its genuineness. He looks upon it as a feeble imitation of the Qurán, invented by a fanatical Shí'ah, after religious quarrels had absorbed the attention of the 'Ulamá of the two rival sects. He says that there is no authentic tradition about it, that no author in the earlier centuries mentions it, and that the name even was not heard of until the 7th century A.H. He admits that it is quite possible that unimportant changes may have been made in the early recensions, but declines to believe that a whole Súra was discarded. Even assuming that 'Uṣman did not wish that anything favourable to 'Ali should appear, it was not necessary to omit a whole Súra. The omission of

a few phrases would have served his purpose just as well. He considers the whole chapter, with the exception of the words and expressions favourable to 'Ali and his family, to be simply a compilation from various parts of the Qurán. Some words and phrases have been altered, some borrowed literally and the result of the whole is that the style is very inferior to that of the Qurán itself. This statement he supports by a comparison of expressions used in this Súra and also found in the Qurán.[1]

M. Garcin de Tassy, in a footnote to Mírzá Káẕim Beg's article, expresses the great joy he feels at the discovery of this unknown Súra,[2] and he evidently considers that it is not to be lightly set aside. He thinks that there is nothing improbable in the idea that it was recited by Muḥammad and that it formed part of 'Ali's copy; but he does not consider himself bound to uphold its authenticity, while on the other hand he declines to say that it is a forgery. He very

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[1] The following are some examples:—

يَتْلُوان عَلَيْكُم آياتى وَيُحَذِّرانِكُمْ Súra xxxix.
51; يا أَيُّهَا الَّذينَ آمَنُوا Súra iv. 136; عَذابَ يَوْمٍ عَظيم Súra xxxix. 15; جَنَّاتُ النَّعيم Súra xxi. 8; ظَلَمُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ
Súra iv. 63; قَدْ مَكَرَ ٱلَّذينَ Súra iii. 40; يَفْعَلُ ٱللّٰهُ ما يَشآءُ لا إلٰهَ إلاّ هُوَ ٱلرَّحْمٰنُ ٱلرَّحيم
وَإِنَّ أَكْثَرَكُم فاسِقُونَ Súra xxii. 105; إِنَّ أَخْذى شَديدٌ أَليمٌ Súra vi. 26; مِنْ قَبْلِهِم
وَجَعَلْنا مِنْهُمْ Súra xii. 18; فَصَبْرٌ جَميلٌ Súra iii. 12; قُلْ لِلَّذينَ كَفَرُوا Súra v. 59;
قانِتاً بِاللَّيْلِ Súra xxxix. 10; فَلْيَتَمَتَّعُوا بِكُفْرِهِم قَليلاً Súra v. 62; ٱلْقِرَدَةَ وَالْخَنازِيرَ
سَيُجْعَلُ Súra xxxix. 19; يَسْتَوى ٱلَّذينَ ظَلَمُوا الخ Súra xxxix. 18; ساجِداً يُحَذِّرُ الخ
اَلْحَمْدُ لله Súra xxxvi. 21; فى الغُرُفاتِ آمنون Súra xxxvi. 37; ٱلْأَغْلالُ فى أَعْناقِهِمْ
رَبِّ ٱلْعالَمينَ end of Súras xxxvii and xxxviii.

[2] Je suis charmé d'avoir appelé l'attention des orientalistes sur le *chapitre du Coran inconnu* jusqu'a l'époque on je le publiai, l'an passé, pour la première fois,

properly sets aside Káẕim Beg's argument with reference to the difference in style, and to the similarity of expressions in it and in the Qurán, for, as he points out, in the Qurán itself the repetitions of similar words and phrases in the various Súras are innumerable.

On the whole, the weight of evidence seems to be against the Shí'ah claim. 'Ali and his followers were a powerful body during the Khalifate of 'Uṣmán; they must have known very well whatever the Prophet had said about 'Ali; and it is not easy to believe that, powerful as they were, they would have allowed 'Uṣmán to suppress all such passages. Then when 'Ali became Khalif he could, if he had so willed, have produced his copy of the Qurán. The passions raised by civil war were already so strong, that it is not likely that such an action as that would have so increased them as to lead to still further danger to the Khalif. The fact is that the cult of 'Ali, a most curious and interesting phase of religious thought, is of very much later growth; and when it developed, it needed all the support that these supposed revelations could give it.

The way in which the various recensions were made, and the need of them show that the Qurán is open to criticism, and that the orthodox view of inspiration needs to be very much modified, but do not prove that the present copies are not authentic. The conclusion arrived at by Muir, with which most scholars agree, seems to me sound and good. He says[1]:—"The conclusion, which we may now with confidence draw, is that the editions both of Abú Bakr and of 'Uṣmán were, not only faithful, but complete as far as the materials went; and that whatever omissions there may have been, they were not on the part of the compilers intentional. The real drawback to the inestimable value of the Qurán, as a contemporary and authentic record of Muhammad's character and actions, is the want of arrangement and connection which pervades it; so that, in inquiring into the meaning and force of a passage, no

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[1] *Life of Muḥammad*, Vol. i. p. xxvi.

infallible dependence can be placed on the adjacent sentences as being the true context. But, bating this serious defect, we may upon the strongest presumption affirm that every verse in the Qurán is the genuine and unaltered composition of Muḥammad himself, and conclude with at least a close approximation to the verdict of Von Hammer—'*That we hold the Qurán to be as truly Muḥammad's word, as the Muḥammadans hold it to be the word of God.*'"

THE ḤANÍFS.

VIII.

In the Qurán Abraham is called a Ḥaníf, a word translated by Rodwell as "sound in the faith." Muḥammad in the later years of his ministry declared that his one object in preaching and teaching was to restore the religion of Abraham. In two late Meccan Súras we read, "As for me, my Lord hath guided me into a straight path, in true religion, the creed of Abraham the sound in faith."[1] "Verily, Abraham was a leader in religion, obedient to God, sound in faith."[2] Then follow a number of statements, all in Súras of the Madína period, "He (God) hath elected you and hath not laid upon you any hardship in religion, the faith of your father Abraham."[3] "They say, moreover, 'Become Jews or Christians that he may have the true guidance.' Say Nay! the religion of Abraham, the sound in faith."[4] "Follow the religion of Abraham, the sound in faith."[5] "Who hath a better religion than he who resigneth himself to God, who doeth what is good, and followeth the faith of Abraham in all sincerity."[6]

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[1] Súra vi. 162.
[2] Súra xvi. 124.
[3] Súra xxii. 77.
[4] Súra ii. 129.
[5] Súra iii. 89.
[6] Súra iv. 124.

Abraham is represented as having, with Ishmael's assistance, built the Ka'ba. Both are said to have prayed that they might be made Muslims and both entreated the Lord to raise up a Prophet for His people. "And when Abraham, with Ishmael, raised the foundations of the house, they said, 'O our Lord, accept it from us; for Thou art the Hearer, the Knower. O our Lord! Make us Muslims and our posterity a Muslim people; and teach us our holy rites, and be turned toward us, for Thou art He who turneth, the merciful. O our Lord! raise up among them an Apostle who may rehearse Thy signs unto them and teach them the Book." [1] This is also a Madína Súra.

It is thus quite clear that Muḥammad did just before his flight to Madína and whilst in that city, where he was brought into close contact with Jews, assert that the religion of Abraham was the true one, and that he, Muḥammad, was the Prophet sent to announce that fact and to urge men to follow the faith of Abraham, the Ḥaníf.

It is also a historical fact that, shortly before Muḥammad began his mission, there were men in Mecca who were much dissatisfied with the current idolatry, and that these men are now called Ḥanífs. According to the traditions they are said to have found the religious consolation they needed in the millat, or religion, of Abraham. The chief of this were Waraqa Ibn Naufal, 'Ubaid Ulláh Ibn Jásh, 'Uṣmán Ibnu'l Ḥuwairiṣ, and Zaid Ibn Amr. They said to each other: "Ye know, by God, that your nation hath not the true faith and that they have corrupted the religion of their father Abraham; how shall we compass a stone which neither hears nor sees, neither helps nor hurts? Seek ye another faith for yourselves, for the one you have is useless." So they travelled abroad in search of a religion. Waraka studied Christian doctrine, though apparently he did not become a Christian. 'Ubaid Ulláh confessed his faith in Christ and went to

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[1] Súra ii. 121-4.

Abyssinia. 'Usmán also became a Christian, and Zaid, though he did not embrace Christianity or Judaism, gave up idol worship and said :—" I worship the Lord of Abraham."

These two facts, that of Muḥammad's later proclamation as to the revival of the religion of Abraham, and that of the protest against idolatry by the men referred to, are often connected together. It is assumed that Muḥammad's position and claim as a reviver of the Abrahamic faith was a natural product of a religious movement in Mecca, at a period immediately preceding his open declaration of himself as a Prophet. There is a good deal to be said for this view, but there are some scholars, amongst whom is Kuenen, who do not accept it. It is pointed out with much force that all the verses in the Qurán which refer to it are of late origin, and it is said, therefore, that this idea of re-establishing the religion of Abraham was a conception which arose in the Prophet's mind, not at the earlier part of his career when he may have known these men, but towards its close when other considerations came into force. It is too much to say that they exercised no influence on him; but the question is, How much was it? Then again, how are we to account for the name Ḥaníf borne by men of this party? The answer to this is that the name was borrowed by the Traditionists from the Qurán and applied to these reformers, after Muḥammad had formulated his views about Abraham. It is said that this was done to show that thoughtful men before Muḥammad's time were Ḥanífs. Kuenen says :—" When once Muḥammad had identified his religion with the faith of the Patriarch, was it not a historical necessity that pre-Muḥammadans should conform in Muslim tradition to the type of Abraham?"[1]

One strong argument for this view lies in the fact that in the early years of his ministry Muḥammad does not appear to have taught this connection between himself and Abraham. On the other hand, we find in the Qurán the most amazing ignorance

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[1] *Hibbert Lectures for* 1882, p. 21.

of the family and life of the Patriarch. In the earlier Súras, delivered at Mecca, we find no mention of the millat, or religion, of Abraham. In the connection between the Arabs and Abraham, Ishmael is an all-important link. He is mentioned in early Súras, but not as a son of Abraham. It is not until a much later period, when this theory of Islám's being a continuation of Abraham's religion had been announced, that we get the true connection between Ishmael and Abraham more clearly set forth in the Madína Súras of the Qurán.

In early Meccan Súras, Ishmael is called a Prophet and is put after Moses;[1] is connected with Enoch and put after Job;[2] is associated with Elisha and Zu'l Keft (an unknown person) as a just man.[3] In this last verse Abraham is mentioned but not in any connection with Ishmael. In a late Meccan Súra Ishmael is found in the company of Elisha, Jonah, and Lot, whilst Abraham comes in another group altogether.[4] The idea of the Arab connection with Abraham was now, however, beginning to take root in the Prophet's mind, and so in another Súra of this period we find for the first time Ishmael spoken of as Abraham's son. "Praise be to God who hath given me in my old age Ishmael and Isaac."[5]

Then, when we come to the Madína Súras, and when this Abrahamic conception became stronger and the Ka'ba assumed an importance not hitherto given to it, we find Ishmael spoken of in close connection with Abraham.[6] But even yet, Muḥammad is not very clear about the relationship, for a few verses later on[7] he speaks of Ishmael as an ancestor of Jacob. "Were ye present when Jacob was at the point of death? When he said to his sons, 'Whom will ye worship when I am gone?' they said, 'We will worship thy God and the God of thy fathers Abraham and Ishmael and Jacob."[8]

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1 Súra xix. 55. 2 Súra xxi. 85. 3 Súra xxxviii. 48.
4 Súra vi. 84-6. 5 Súra xiv. 41. 6 Súra ii. 121. 7 Súra ii. 127.
8 Baiẓáwi explains this by a saying of Muḥammad's—"The uncle is part of the father."

Indeed, so little did Muḥammad, when at Mecca, seem to know about Abraham's family that he put Isaac and Jacob together as sons of the patriarch Abraham. "We bestowed on him (Abraham) Isaac and Jacob."[1] "And He gave him Isaac and Jacob."[2]

During the Meccan period, then, there does not seem to have been any prominent place given to Abraham. He is one of the worthies of the ancient time, a great and distinguished Patriarch; but so far from being then represented as founding a religion for the Arab people, which Muḥammad was to re-announce and restore, he himself is said to have been one of the disciples of Noah, "Truly of his (Noah's) faith was Abraham."[3]

There is a very curious exposition of this verse in the *Tafsír-i-Ḥusaini*,[4] in which the pronoun 'his' is referred to Muḥammad. This completely cuts away the notion of Abraham's being the founder of a religion which Muḥammad was to resuscitate, for it declares him to be a follower in anticipation of a religion founded by a later Prophet.

Indeed, at this stage, so far from considering that Abraham had preached to the Arabs a religion, long since forgotten and now to be revived, Muḥammad speaks of himself as the first messenger of Alláh to the Arabs. "That thou shouldest warn a people whose fathers were not warned."[5] "That thou mayest warn a people to whom no warner hath come before thee."[6] Both these passages belong to Súras of the middle Meccan period. Then follows one of the later Meccan revelations. "Nor have we sent any one to them before thee, charged with warnings."[7] This shows that practically it was not till the Madína period that Muḥammad gave up this position of being the first warner.

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[1] Súra xix. 20. This Súra belongs to the middle Meccan period.
[2] Súra vi. 84. This is a late Meccan Súra.
[3] Súra xxxvii. 81. This is a Súra of the middle Meccan period.
[4] Vol. ii. p. 240.
[5] Súra xxxvi. 5.
[6] Súra xxxii. 2.
[7] Súra xxxiv. 43.

The people of Mecca, at all events, did not understand him to be a restorer of the religion of their forefathers, for they described him as "perverting them from their fathers' worship."[1]

In an early Madína Súra he describes their fathers as ignorant, "And when it is said to them, 'Follow that which God hath sent down,' they say:—'Nay, we will follow the usages which we found with our fathers.' What! though their fathers were ignorant and devoid of guidance."[2]

Even at this time there is no indication of a religion of Abraham, possessed by their fathers and now re-announced to them. How, then, are we to account for the change in Muḥammad's attitude to Abraham? The history gives the clue. During Muḥammad's residence at Mecca we hear little or nothing about the Jews, but when he went to Madína, where there was a large and important resident Jewish population, the Prophet had to consider his attitude towards them and to see whether they could be won over to his side. He now in their presence maintained that Islám, Judaism, and Christianity proceeded from a pure source—books from heaven.

References to the scriptures are frequent, and concessions to Jewish prejudices were made, such as the turning to Jerusalem in prayer. Later on, when he quite failed to win over the Jews as a body, he turned against them and bitterly persecuted them; but for a time his attitude was friendly and he earnestly desired to obtain their aid. In order to do this it was necessary for him to find some common ground. This he found in the millat, or religion, of Abraham who was, so he says, neither Jew nor Christian, "Will ye say:—'Verily Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes were Jews or Christians?' Say who knoweth best, ye or God?"[3] A little later on he becomes more definite, "Abraham was neither Jew nor Christian, but he was sound in the faith (a Ḥaníf), a Muslim.[4]

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[1] Súra xxxiv. 42.
[2] Súra ii. 165.
[3] Súra ii. 135.
[4] Súra iii. 60.

Intercourse with the Jews made the Prophet more accurate in Hebrew history, and in these later Súras the connection between Abraham and Ishmael is more correctly described. Ishmael is also made to appear as the ancestor of the Arabs and as a joint founder of the Ka'ba. In a very late Madína Súra Abraham is connected with the establishment of the great Meccan temple, "And call to mind when We assigned the site of the Ka'ba to Abraham, and said:—'Unite not aught with me in worship and cleanse my house for those who go in procession round it.'"[1]

This is a clear statement that the Arab custom of the Ṭawáf, or circumambulation of the Ka'ba, was in the then opinion of Muḥammad derived from Abraham; and in incorporating it into Islám Muḥammad not only conciliated the Meccans by conserving what had practically become a pagan rite, but also tried to assure the Jews that his object was to preserve the teaching and custom of their great ancestor Abraham. That the whole account was quite unhistorical did not trouble the mind of the Prophet, whose critical skill was in such matters weak.

It was in this way that the idea was set forth; and the question at issue is whether Muḥammad got the idea from the Ḥanífs to whom we have referred, and was led by them to consider the propriety of re-establishing the religion of Abraham, or whether it was an after-thought developed in consequence of and in connection with the Prophet's environment at Madína? If the latter view is taken, then it would seem that Waraqa, Zaid, and their companions were not really Ḥanífs to their contemporaries, but received the name *afterwards* through the Traditionists, who maintained the former view, in accordance with which Zaid and his friends were followers of Abraham's faith, and personally influenced Muḥammad when he was at Mecca, in the same direction.

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[1] Súra xxii. 27.

Kuenen considers that "when we refer to the Ḥanífs of Tradition in explanation of the texts of the Qurán, we are guilty of a *ὕστερον πρότερον*, and that in reality the name assigned in the Traditions to Muḥammad's supposed predecessors in this faith is simply borrowed from the Qurán. They are called Ḥanífs because Abraham is so called in the Qurán, and because it is the millat, or religion, of Abraham that they are represented as seeking, or, even, like Zaid ibn Amr, as finding and openly professing."[1]

The following is a Tradition regarding Zaid :—"Zaid adopted this term at the instance of a Christian and of a Jew, who both exhorted him to become a Ḥaníf. Zaid, having at this time renounced idolatry and being unable to receive either Judaism or Christianity, said :—'What is a Ḥaníf?' They both told him it was the religion of Abraham who worshipped nothing but God. On this Zaid exclaimed, 'O God, I bear witness that I follow the religion of Abraham.'"

Assuming that the other view is correct and that Muḥammad did learn about Abraham from Zaid and others, it is extremely difficult to understand why he should have kept quiet about it for so many years, and how, until he was brought into closer contact with Jews, he was so ignorant of the family life of Abraham. But neither he himself nor the so-called Ḥanífs made any attempts to preach this doctrine at Mecca. Sprenger holds that Zaid did do so, and that Muḥammad learnt from him about the religion of Abraham; but with reference to this opinion Nöldeke justly remarks that, if Muḥammad had learnt Zaid's speeches by heart in order to put them into the Qurán, surely others must have known them and would have handed them down in tradition.[2]

The view, held by Kuenen, that this claim of the re-establishment of the religion of Abraham was an after-thought, called into existence by the necessities of the case in Madína, certainly

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[1] *Hibbert Lectures for* 1882, p. 21.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 305.

fits in better with the historical development of the Qurán and with the growth of ideas in the Prophet's mind. It also fully accords with other adaptations of his views to the changing circumstances of his life.

Still, when scholars like Sprenger, Nöldeke, and Kuenen differ, we cannot be too dogmatic on the point; but this one thing we may learn, and that is the great importance of reading the Súras of the Qurán, so far as may be, in their chronological order.

APPENDIX.

A Qári is one who read the Qurán, but the name is technically applied to the seven famous "Readers" and their disciples.

Each of these seven Qáris adopted certain changes in the vowels and so in pronunciation and in words, and a Qurán containing these variations is said to be arranged according to the Qirá'at or 'reading' of such a Qári. Thus the word Qirá'at, or its plural form Qirá'át,[1] may be used to denote what we understand by the term "various readings," and will be so used in this appendix. Each Qári had two disciples who handed down the reading followed by their respective masters. Such a disciple is called a Ráwi, or Narrator. The seven Qáris are:—

1. Imám Ibn Kaṣír who was a Tábi', that is, one who had associated with the Companions of the Prophet. He was born in Mecca 45 A.H. and died in that city in 120 A.H. His system of reading the Qurán was handed down by two Ráwis; Buzzi who died in 291 A.H. and Qunbal who died in 270 A.H.

2. Imám 'Áṣim who died at Kúfa in 127 A.H. He learnt the Qurán reading from a person who had been taught it by the Khalifs 'Uṣmán and 'Ali. His Ráwis were Abú Bakr who died 193 A.H. and Ḥafṣ who died 180 A.H.

3. Imám Abú 'Umr[1] was born at Mecca 70 A.H. and died at Kúfa 154 A.H. It is on his authority that the following important statement has been handed down: "When

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[1] قِراءت pl. قِراءات

[2] Many anecdotes about him are recorded by Ibn Khallikan, vol. ii. pp. 399—403.

the first copy of the Qurán was written out and presented to the Khalif 'Uṣmán, he said:—' There are faults in it, let the Arabs rectify it with their tongue.' " The meaning of this is that they should pronounce the words correctly when reading the book, but not alter the copy. This accounts for the peculiar spelling of words in the Qurán and known as the Rasmu'l Khaṭṭ, or the "rule for writing" the Qurán. Abú 'Umr was renowned as one of the greatest Arabic scholars of his age. His two Ráwis are Dúri and Súsi.

4. Imám Ḥamza was born at Kúfa and died 156 A.H., aged seventy-six years. He is also known by the name of Az Zaiyát, the oilman, because he traded with oil between Kúfa and Halwan, in which latter place he died. His two Ráwis are Khalaf Buzáz and Abú 'Isa Khallád.

5. Imám Náfi was a native of Madína. He belonged to the Taba-i-Tábi'in, and so received his method by tradition from the Companions. He was a man of much repute in Madína. He died there in 169 A.H. His two Ráwis are Warsh and Qálún.

6. Imám Kisá'i, to use his surname, was also a native of Kúfa. He was famous for his grammatical and philological knowledge. He was tutor to Al Amín, a son of the Khalif Hárúnu'r Rashíd. Many anecdotes are told of the way in which he applied grammatical rules to the solution of other questions. This question was put to him, "What is then your opinion of a man who, in making the additional prostrations which some neglect, or some irregularity in the prescribed prayers, rendered necessary, again commits an irregularity? must he renew his prostrations?" To this he replied in the negative, and gave as his reason that a noun which has already assumed the diminutive form cannot be diminished again.[1] He died 189 A.H. His two Ráwis are Abú'l Ḥáriṣ and Dúri.

7. Imám Ibn 'Amir was a native of Syria. His Ráwis are Hishshám and Ibn Zakwán.

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[1] De Slane points out that this agrees with the legal maxim which reads thus:—
سجود السهو فی سجود السهو لا یجب

Great care must be taken to read according to the pronunciation of these Qáris, and to observe the pauses indicated by various punctuation marks. A mistake in this respect is called laḥan and is of two kinds: laḥan-i-jali, a clear and evident mistake, such as shortening or lengthening the vowel sounds, laḥan-i-khafi,[1] a less apparent mistake, such as not making a distinction in sound between ح and ه : ث and ذ ز س and ت : ظ and ط. If two of the same letters come together it is a mistake, if both are not clearly sounded; *e.g.*, each ه in وجهه ; and each ع in قطبع علي must be distinctly pronounced.

It is absolutely necessary that great attention should be paid to the tashdíd—تشديد madd—مدّ and other similar marks. These diacritical marks, known under the general term of A'ráb اعراب were invented by Khalíl Ibn Aḥmad, who was born in the year 100 A.H., and who died at Baṣra about seventy years after. The marks and symbols peculiar to the Qurán are many. They refer almost entirely to the various kinds of pauses to be made in reciting the Qurán, and form in fact its punctuation.

The symbol for a full stop is O, when the reader should take breath.

The word سكتة is written when a slight pause is made but no breath is taken.

The waqf, or pause, is of five kinds:—

(1) Waqf-i-lázim—وقفِ لازم of which the sign is م. This is, as its name implies, a necessary pause. If no pause were made the meaning would be altered; *e.g.*, Súra ii, v. 7: "Yet are they not believers م Fain would they deceive God," &c. Here, if there were no waqf-i-lázim after the word 'believers,' it might seem as if believers would fain deceive God.

[1] لحن جلى and لحن خفى

(2) Waqf-i-Muṭlaq—وقفِ مطلق, the sign of which is ط. This pause occurs in places where, if made or omitted, there is no alteration in the sense, *e.g.*, Súratu'l-Fátiḥah, "King on the day of reckoning ط. Thee do we worship."

مٰلِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّين ط إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ

Here the waqf comes after the word دين, because the enumeration of God's attributes ends here and the expression of man's need commences.[1]

(3) Waqf-i-já'iz—وقفِ جائز, the sign of which is ج. This waqf is optional, *e.g.*, "She said, 'Kings when they enter a city spoil it, and abase the mightiest of its people' ج and in like manner will these also do."[2] In this case, by putting the pause after 'people,' the remaining words do not form part of the quotation; by omitting it, they would; and Balqīs, the Queen of Sheba, would be represented as saying, "In like manner will these also do." The quotation marks ' ' are not used in Arabic.

(4) Waqf-i-Mujauwaz—وقفِ مُجَوَّز, the sign of which is ز. This also is an optional pause, *e.g.*, "These are they who purchase this present life at the price of that which is to come ز their torment shall not be lightened."[3]

The particle ف usually connects a clause closely to the preceding one, in which case there would be no waqf; but on the other hand the verb يُخَفَّفُ comes early in the clause, and in such a case should be preceded by waqf. To reconcile these two opposing principles the pause is left optional.

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[1] If over the circle, denoting a full stop, any other symbol is written, due attention must be paid to it; if there are two or more symbols all should be observed. However, the one at the top is the most important, *e.g.*, ط ج O In this case the Waqf-i-Muṭlaq is superior to the Waqf-i-já'íz.

[2] Súra lxviii. 34.

[3] Súra ii. 80.

أُولٰئِكَ الَّذِينَ اشْتَرَوُا الْحَيٰوةَ الدُّنْيَا بِالْآخِرَةِ ز فَلَا يُخَفَّفُ عَنْهُمُ الْعَذَابُ

Such, at least, is the only explanation I have yet found of Waqf-i-Mujauwaz.

(5) Waqf-i-Mura<u>kh</u><u>kh</u>aṣ—وقف مُرخّص, the sign of which is ص. This is a pause which may be made when it is necessary to take breath. It comes between words which have no necessary connection with each other, *e.g.*, "Who hath made the earth a bed for you, and the heavens a covering ص and hath caused water to come down from heaven."[1] If this pause is made, the reader must commence at the beginning of the clause, that is, if he pauses after 'covering' he must begin after the pause at "who hath, &c."

All the pauses now described are ancient: they have been recognized from the earliest times. In later days the Qurán readers have invented several others. As these will be found in all Qurán now in use, I give a short account of them.

1. Qif—قِف "pause." This frequently occurs, but in such places as to leave the meaning of the passage unaffected.

2. Qáf—ق This is the symbol for قد قِيل = "it is said." The ق thus expresses the fact that some persons of authority have said that a pause should be made in the place where it is inserted. It is an optional pause.

3. Ṣalī—صلي "connect." This shows that there must be no pause.

4. Lá—لا This is the symbol for لا يوقف = "there is no pause."

5. Sīn—س This is the first letter of the سكتة = "silence." A pause may be made in the recital, provided that the reader does not take breath in this place.[2]

[1] Súra ii. 20.

[2] The following table shows how often these stops occur in the Qurán:—

س-سكتة	لا	صلى	ق	قف	ص	ز	ج	ط	م
8	1,155	8	99	99	83	191	1,578	3,510	12

6. Káf—ك—This is the first letter of the word كذلك = "in the same manner." It then means that where ك occurs a pause must be made similar in kind to the one immediately preceding.

7. Qalá—قلا This is a shortened form of قيل لا = "some have said 'No.'" It is quite optional.

There are a few selected places in the Qurán where it is considered an act of merit to make a solemn pause, or to omit the pause if so directed.

1. Mu'ánaqa—معانقه = 'embracing.' This means that when two pauses come very close together, one may be omitted, *e.g.*, لاريب معانقه ج فيه معانقه ج. Here only one word فيه occurs between the two ج—the symbol for Waqf-i-já'íz. As معانقه is written above each, it is sufficient if a pause is made in one place. The other signs for معانقه are مع مبادله مراقبه and more frequently ❖. The ancient authorities say that معانقه occurs thirteen times in the Qurán; the modern ones say eighteen.

2. Waqf-i-Ghufrán—وقف غفران "the pause of pardon." It is considered highly meritorious to pause whenever these words occur, for there is a tradition to the effect that "He who observes Waqf-i-Ghufrán in the ten places[1] in which it

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[1] The ten places referred to by Muhammad are:—

(1) Súra v. 56: "O Believers! take not the Jews or Christians as friends" غفران.

(2) Súra vi. 36: "Will He make answer to those who only listen?" غفران.

(3–4) Súra xxxii. 18: "Shall he then who is a believer be as a gross sinner (غفران) they shall not be held alike" غفران.

(5–9) Súra xxxvi. 11, 29, 52, 61, 81: "The traces they have left behind them" غفران "O the misery that rests upon my servants" غفران "Who hath roused us from our sleeping place" غفران "Worship me" غفران "Must not He who hath created the heavens and the earth be mighty enough to create your likes?" غفران.

(10) Súra lxvii. 19: "Behold they not the birds over their heads, their wing outstretching and drawing in?" غفران.

occurs, I will answer for his entrance into paradise." The lesser sins of all who observe it are supposed to receive pardon.

3. Waqf-i-Munazzal—وقفِ مُنَزّل. This is also called Waqf-i-Jibra'īl—وقفِ جبرئيل because it is said that in the six or eight places where the pause is indicated, Gabriel paused when reciting the Qurán to the Prophet.

4. Waqfu'n Nabi—وقف النبي "pause of the Prophet." It is said that in some eleven or more places, additional to all that have been mentioned, the Prophet used to pause. It is now a meritorious act to observe this pause.

This concludes what may be termed the punctuation of the Qurán, but there still remain several signs and symbols which need explanation.

1. عب This is ع the initial letter of عشر—the word for the number ten and ب—the first letter of بصري. This symbol denotes that a Baṣra 'Ashr ends here. As a Rukú' contains on an average about ten verses, it is here called by the term 'Ashr, ten; so عب means that according to the Qáris of Baṣra a Rukú', or group of ten verses, ends where this symbol is placed.

2. خب stands for Khams-i-Baṣra خمس بصري and denotes that five Baṣra verses ended here.

3. ي denotes the end of a Kúfa Rukú' or 'Ashr. Sometimes عشر is written on the margin.

4. ه shows the end of five Kúfa verses خمس كوفي. Sometimes خمس is written on the margin.

5. تب shows the end of a Baṣra verse.

6. لب shows the ending of a verse according to the Qáris of any other city than Baṣra.

The terms a Baṣra Rukú', five Kúfa verses, etc., refer to the divisions made by the Qáris of Baṣra and Kúfa. It is owing to this difference that the number of verses said to be

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in the Qurán varies. The Kúfa Qáris, following the قراءت or reading of Imám 'Áṣim, reckon 6,239 verses; the Baṣra Qáris make out 6,204; the Qáris of Shám (Syria) 6,225; the Meccan verses are 6,219; the Madína verses are 6,211.

As Muslims when quoting from the Qurán, if they give any reference to the portion from whence the extract is taken, name the Juz and the Rukú', not the Súra and verse, it is necessary that the former should be marked in the margin. A juz is one-thirtieth part of the whole. Each juz has a distinct name, the first word of each portion serving for that purpose.

The term rukú' literally means a prostration. The collection of verses recited from the Qurán, ascriptions of praise offered to God, and various ritual acts connected with these, constitute one act of worship called a rak'at. After reciting some verses in a rak'at,[1] the worshipper makes a rukú' or prostration. The portion recited is then called a rukú'.[2] Practically it is a division, averaging about ten verses.

It is comparatively easy to verify a quotation, if the juz and rukú' are named, but very few Muslim writers give such information. A verse or a few detached words are quoted, and it becomes an exceedingly difficult task to verify them. Every theologian is supposed to know the whole Qurán by heart, and so it is considered quite superfluous to give "chapter and verse," or rather juz and rukú'.

As it would be quite impossible to read the Qurán correctly, unless it were written with the strictest attention to the ancient copies, this act of copying it, with the rules thereof, is known

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[1] There are several rak'ats in a Namáz.

[2] The sign of it is ع written in the margin. Frequently it occurs with as many as three figures, thus ٣ ع٩ ٨. The ٣ (3) on the top shows that this is the third rukú' from the commencement of the Súra in which it occurs; the ٩ (9) in the centre gives the number of verses in this rukú'; the ٨ (8) at the bottom shows that this is the eighth rukú' in the juz.

as Rasmu'l-khaṭṭ[1] رَسمُ الخَط. The copyist should follow the recension made in the time of the Khalíf 'Uṣmán. This rule is based on the Ijmá', or unanimous consent, of the Companions. He who alters a pause, or a letter, or who, without in the least altering the sense, adds or takes away even a letter, is guilty of a very grave offence. The consequence of this is that the spelling of many words in the Qurán follow special and peculiar rules, to which rules again there are many exceptions. The following are some of the rules of the Rasmu'l-khaṭṭ.

1. The ا of masculine plurals ending in ون and ين is written above[2] the word when it occurs more than twice in the Qurán, if the ا is not followed by تشديد or همزة; *e.g.*, ظلِمون not ظالمون. There are two words which do not occur more than twice, and are therefore exceptions; *e.g.*, ماكرين in the 3rd juz, 13th rukú' and in the 9th juz, 18th rukú', راكعين in the 1st juz, 5th rukú', and in the 3rd juz, 13th rukú'. There is one exception. The word لعنون, although it occurs only once, that is, in the 2nd juz, 3rd rukú', is not written لاعنون but لعنون, as though it occurred more than twice.

2. Final ا drops before an affixed pronoun, *e.g.*, أنجينكم not أنجيناكم.

3. The conjunction إنْ is never joined with the following word, *e.g.*, إنْ شاءَ إنْ كنتم not إنكنتم and إنشاء.

4. The ا of يا (O!) is never written, *e.g.*, يٰادم (O Adam!) not يا ادم يٰايها not يا أيها.

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[1] Ante, p. 252.

[2] Although I speak of the ا as written above, yet it must be remembered that it is only placed there for convenience and in order that the readers may remember it. It is called خنجرى الف Khanjari Alif. Before the invention of the short vowels, or the اعراب it would not have been written at all, and if a Qurán were now to be written without اعراب, a thing never done, this would not appear.

5. With the exception of five words, the lám (ل) of the definite article ال is joined by tashdíd to the initial lám of the following word, and only one lám is written, *e.g.*, الَّيل not اَللَيل. The exceptions are اللّٰعبِيْنِ اللّٰهوْ اللّٰؤ لؤ اللّٰاتِ اللّٰوامة هم اللّٰعنون

6. The ا of the feminine plural ending in ات is written above, *e.g.*, مُؤْمِنٰت not مُؤْمِنَات ; جَنّٰت not جَنَّات، &c.

7. In such words as يحيِي and يستحيِي the final ي is sounded twice, though only written once. The second ي may be written of a smaller size and in red ink, thus showing that it was not in the original text. If, however, a pronoun is affixed, the ي is written twice, *e.g.*, يحْيِيْكم

8. The following words substitute و for ا without any change in pronunciation, *e.g.*, صلوة زكوة حيوة مشكوة منوة. If, however, any one of these words governs another word in the possessive case the ا returns, *e.g.*, صلاتك 'thy prayers,' صلاةالعبد, etc.

9. In such words as حوارِين نبِين the two ي are joined by تشديد, but in عِلِيِّيْن حسنيِيْن they are separate; سيّئة and خطِيْئة retain the second ي but place همزه over it.

10. The words جِبرِيل اِسرايل should have همزه understood, but not written (except in red) before the ي—thus جبرئيل. It reads Jibra'íl. The pronunciation جبْرِيل—jibríl—has arisen from the readers forgetting this rule.

11. The ا in تلاوته مساجد خصمان يعلمان اصحاب بنات قيامة يختصمان should be written above, thus مسٰجد اصحٰب بنٰة قيٰمة etc.

12. In يسئل يسئلوا and the various forms of this verb همزه is used without ء being under it. The usual form of the first would be يسأل, the ا then becomes همزه يسئل; but to write it thus would be wrong: the ء must not appear.

13. In the following words an ا appears at the end of each, though it is quite unnecessary and is not sounded, *e.g.*, ليربوا اشكوا ساتلوا يتلوا يرجوا ادعوا يدعوا. There is one exception to this rule. It occurs in Súra iv. يعفو عنهم "He pardons them."

14. The following, though plural forms, have no ا. باو and جاو in every place; فاو in Súra ii; سعو in Súra xxxiv; عتو in Súra xxv; تبوء in Súra lix.

15. ا is in every instance inserted after اولو *e.g.*, أولوا الالباب أولوا العلم, etc.; ذو also takes ا after it in all places except six, viz., once each in Súras xii; xxiii; lxii; lxxxv; and twice in Súra xxxii.

16. The لام جاره, that is, the ل which means 'for,' is in four places written apart from the word it governs, *e.g.*, فمال هولاء in Súra iv; مال هذا in Súra xviii; مال هذا الرسول in Súra xxv; فمال الذين in Súra xvii.

17. ايها appears three times without ا, *e.g.*, أيه. It is so altered once each in the Súras ix, xliii and lv.

18. The words داود يلون غاون يستون and similar words are pronounced as if there were two waws (و) in each, *e.g.*, Dáwúd, not Dáúd. The second و is sometimes written in red ink to remind the reader of this rule.

19. The ا of the pronoun انا is not pronounced by all the readers, so لكن انا becomes لكنا. The Qári Imám Náfi' always pronounced it.

26. In لَأَمْلَأَنَّ "Certainly, I will fill," the ا is dropped and همزة is put without any ^ under it, e.g., لاملئن. In Súra xxxiii the last ا of the words الرسولا السبيلا الظنونا is retained, contrary to the rule which says that when ال is prefixed the ا of the objective case drops. In Súra cvi the words لالف قريش الفهم "For the union of the Quraish, their union," etc., are read as if written thus: لايلاف قريش ايلافهم though the ي is not written.

A man who has any real claim to the honourable title of a Ḥáfiẓ must not only be conversant with all the details I have now given, but he must also know the 'various readings' of the seven famous Qáris. Each of these men had two disciples. Such a disciple is called a Rávi. There are also three Qáris (each of whom also had two disciples), whose readings are sometimes used when the Qurán is recited privately, but not when used in a liturgical service.

Jalálu'd dín in his famous commentary follows the qirá'at of the Qári Imám Abú 'Umr. Those who belong to the Mazhab, or sect, of Imám As Sháfi'i prefer this qirá'at. Imám 'Áṣim had two famous disciples, Abú Bakr and Ḥafṣ. The qirá'at of Ḥafṣ, or rather of 'Áṣim as made known by Ḥafṣ, is the one almost universally used in India. The qirá'at of Náfi' of Madína is preferred in Arabia, and is highly valued by most theological writers.

In many cases the sense is not at all affected, but the difference has given rise to many disputes. In the year 323 A.H. Ibn Shanabud, a resident of Baghdád, recited the Qurán, using a qirá'at not familiar to his audience. He was severely punished and had to adopt a more familiar 'reading.'

It occasionally happens that there is a difference of opinion between the two followers of some particular Qári with regard to the reading their master preferred. In order to show this diversity of opinion without writing their names in full, each

Rávi, as well as each Qári, has a distinctive letter, which is technically known as the 'ramz.'[1] When both of the Rávis agree as to the reading preferred by their master, the ramz of the Qári only is inserted on the margin of the Qurán. It is not then necessary to add the ramúz of the Rávis, because it is only by their evidence that the qirá'at of the Qári is known. They never give an opinion of their own on the text, but only bear witness to the opinion of their master.[2] If, however, the ramz of one of the two Rávis is given, it signifies that, according to his testimony, the qirá'at he gives is the one approved of by the Qári whose disciple he is. If the two Rávis differ in their evidence as to their master's opinion, the ramz of each Rávi is given with the qirá'at each contends for as the one approved of by his master.

I now give specimens of "various readings" from two Súras, one being in the last juz, the portion of the Qurán most commonly recited in the Namáz. In the tabular form in which I place these, I shall use the letter, or ramz, by which each Qári and each Rávi is known, instead of continually repeating the name in full; but I must first give the letters, or ramúz alluded to. In the following table the distinctive letter is inserted under the name of each Qári and of each Rávi.

The seven Qáris and their Rávis are these—

2nd Rávi راوي دويم	1st Rávi راوي اول	Qári قاري	
ورش ج	قالون ب	نافع مدني ا	1.
قنبل ز	بزّي ه	ابن كثير مكي د	2.
سوسي ى	دوري ط	ابو عمر بصري ح	3.

---

[1] رمز of which the plural form is رموز—ramúz.

[2] All that a critical Muslim can now do is to ascertain the 'readings' adopted by the Qáris; there can be no further emendation of the text, which is by the orthodox supposed to be perfect.

2nd Rávi	1st Rávi	Qári
ابن ذكوان م	هشّام ل	4. ابن عامر شامي ك
حفص ع	ابوبكر ص	5. عاصم كوفي ن
ابو عيسي خلّاد ق	خلف بزاز ض	6. حمزه كوفي ف
دُوري ت	ابوالحارث س	7. كسائي كوفي ر

These are three Qáris of lesser note and their disciples are thus distinguished :—

2nd Rávi راوي دويم	1st Rávi راوي اول	Qári قاري
ابن جماز ذ	عيسي خ	1. ابو جعفر ث
روح ش	رويس غ	2. يعقوب ظ
إدريس يس	اسحق ورّاق حق	3. خلف كوفي لف

In the tabular form of the "various readings," the first column contains the words of which there are different readings; the second, the symbolic letters of the Qáris and Rávis who approve of the reading as given in the first column; the third column includes under the term و الباقون—"the others", the names of all Qáris and Rávis not given in the second one; the fourth column gives the reading preferred by the authorities represented in the third column. For example:—

مالكِ	ظ ن ر لف	و الباقون	مَلِكِ

From this it appears the Qáris Ya'qúb (ظ), 'Áṣim (ن), Kisá'í (ر), and Khalaf-i-Kúfi (لف) approved of the reading Málik—مالك; whereas every other Qári approved of Malik—مَلِكِ. As a general rule there are only two 'readings.'

Súratu'l-Fátiḥah—[1] سورة الفاتحه

مٰلك	و الباقون	ظ ن رلف	مَالك
الرَّحِيمِ مٰلِكِ	و الباقون	ي	الرَّحِيمْ مّٰلِكِ
الصراط	و الباقون	ز غ	السراط
صراط	و الباقون	ز غ	سراط
		ظ ف	عَلَيْهُمْ
عَلَيْهِمْ	و الباقون	د ث ب	عَلَيْهِمُ

Súratu'n Nabá—سورة النبا

هُمْ	و الباقون	د ث ب	هُمُو
الأَرْضَ	و الباقون	ج	لَرْضَ
خَلَقْنٰكُمْ	و الباقون	د ب ث	خَلَقْنٰكُمُو
نَوْمَكُمْ	و الباقون	د ب ث	نَوْمَكُمُو (2)
وَجَنّٰتٍ اَلْفَافًا	و الباقون	ج ف	وَجَنّٰتِنِ الْفَافًا

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1 The Súratu'l Fátiḥah is the opening Súra of the first juz, but I have introduced it here as it occupies such an important place in the Namáz. The Súratu'n Naba is the first Súra of the last juz, or Juz-i-'Am (عم), of which some of the various 'readings' in it are now given.

2 The و placed under the م signifies that ـُ is to be read as a long vowel. It is in accordance with the Rasmu'l Khatt to write وْ not ـُ at the end of words where a ضمه (ـُ) would come.

فَتَاتُونَ	ج ي ث	و الباقون	فَتَأْتُونَ
وَفُتِّحَتْ	ا د ح ك	و الباقون	وَفُتِحَتْ
فَكَانَتْ سَرَاباً	ا د ظ ك ن	و الباقون	فَكَانَت سَّرَاباً
لَبِثِينَ	ش ف	و الباقون	لَابِثِينَ
وَغَسَّاقاً	ع ف ر لف	و الباقون	وَغَسَاقاً

These specimens give a fair illustration of the great majority of the "various readings." The meaning of a passage is not in these affected: it is simply a difference in pronunciation. It is a great feat of memory to recite long portions, or even the whole of the Qurán, first according to the readings—say of the Qári Ḥafṣ, then of the Qári Náfi' and so on through all the seven different readings. There are, however, a few passages in which the meaning is materially affected, but it is outside the purpose of this appendix to go into so large a question as that.[1]

[1] A few good examples will be seen in Sell's *Faith of Islám*, pp. 55, 170, 365.

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